

**THE VITA WULFSTANI OF
WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY**

THE VITA WULFSTANI OF WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
THE EXTANT ABRIDGMENTS OF THIS WORK
AND
THE MIRACLES AND TRANSLATION OF ST. WULFSTAN

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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P R E F A C E

It was the pious opinion of William of Malmesbury that so long as the universe endures and any literature survives in the world there will be an audience for the story of Wulfstan. His prophecy has been fulfilled in part, for the Life was much read in the Middle Ages, even if it did not secure the popularity attained by the lives of Wulfstan's contemporary, Edward the Confessor; while in modern times, when the monastic communities for whose edification the biography was primarily intended have passed away, historians and antiquaries have not wholly neglected it, though it has hardly received the attention which it deserves. The historical importance of the Life and its bearing upon contemporary literature are discussed in the Introduction. The abridgments have been published because, though they add little to our knowledge of Wulfstan, they are important, since they show how a historical text was treated when it was shortened for practical purposes. It sometimes happens that valuable historical texts are preserved only in abridgment, and the various forms assumed by the *Vita Wulfstani* in these conditions have a bearing upon the general criticism of this class of literature. The value of the Miracles, preserved, it seems, in one manuscript only, will be evident to all who read them. It has been impossible in the Introduction to mention more than a few points of interest.

In preparing this edition the aim of the editor has been to place before the reader the texts of the Lives and Miracles as preserved in the manuscripts, with just so much explanatory material as seems necessary. It was hoped that the original punctuation might be reproduced exactly, but since this proved impossible, a compromise was agreed upon with the consent of the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The punctuation of the manuscripts has been followed so far as is possible without the employment of

special type:—"!" of the MSS. is represented by a semi-colon, and "." when not at the end of a sentence by a comma. The editor is aware that there are objections to this plan; for, apart from a certain strangeness to the eye which is apt to be irritating, the punctuation is at times, though very rarely, unintelligent from a modern point of view. However, since these texts were read aloud to the inmates of religious houses, the punctuation of the MSS. must have been intended to serve as a guide to the reader, and therefore has a significance which cannot be ignored. No attempt has been made to "normalise" the spelling:—*c* and *t* are, as a rule, easily distinguishable in the MSS. and have been printed as written, e.g. "efficatius," "audatior," "pernitiosum"; similarly "u" for "v," "i" for "j," and "e" for "æ" have been retained. In like manner such spellings as "choibebat" for "cohibebat" and "cahos" for "chaos" are given in the text. For this no apology is needed, since it is the plan adopted in the best recent editions of works of this character. In the present edition capitals have been inserted or omitted where it seemed desirable to the editor, and certain quotations are printed in italic type. Throughout, the word "et" has been printed in place of the signs used in the manuscripts. Where the reading of the MS. seems to be corrupt, suggested emendations are given in the footnotes.

The editor wishes to acknowledge his gratitude to the Dean and Chapter of Durham for permission to print the Life and Miracles preserved in a manuscript in the Cathedral Library; to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester for permission to transcribe the valuable and little known *Register* of the Cathedral Priory, and to Canon Blake, the Librarian, for kindly arranging the transmission of the volume to the British Museum; to the Research Board of the University of Reading for defraying the cost of a set of rotographs of the Miracles; to Mr. Charles Johnson who has kindly read the proofs and made valuable suggestions; and above all, to Professor F. M. Stenton, who first drew attention to the historical interest of the complete text of the *Vita Wulfstani*, and has given advice with regard to many problems.

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INTRODUCTION

I

The *Vita Wulfstani* is here printed in full for the first time. In the first edition, that of Henry Wharton, published in 1692, about two-fifths of the Life were omitted.¹ Most of the portions suppressed are accounts of miracles which contain some valuable information, but a number of other passages were left out without notice to the reader. Wharton's text was reprinted by Mabillon² and Migne,³ but no attempt has been made hitherto to examine the Life with the care required to show its relation to other historical literature of the period. The plan of this edition is to print first the full text of the *Vita* as preserved in MS. Cott. Claud. A.v. in the British Museum⁴

¹ *Anglia Sacra*, II, pp. 239 *seq.*

² *Acta Ord. Bened.*, Saec. VI, ii, p. 836.

³ *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 179, p. 1734.

⁴ MS. Cott. Claud. A.v. is a small volume, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., originally somewhat larger than at present, and seems to comprise three books which once existed separately. The first two are a fourteenth-century Peterborough Chronicle and a twelfth-century copy of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, perhaps the best extant MS. of the first recension. The former is certainly and the latter probably from the Library of Peterborough Abbey. The provenance of the third—fo. 135 to the end—is unknown. It is an early collection of saints' lives containing the Life of St. Erkenwald, Bishop of London, the Life and Miracles of St. Wenfred, the Life of St. Neot and the Life of St. Wulfstan. The MS., written towards the close of the twelfth century, is double-columned and, apart from a number of erasures, competently executed. The ornamentation is slight, for but few rubrics are given and the capitals coloured green and red at the beginning of the chapters are plain. The prefatory letter and the prologue to the *Vita Wulfstani* were placed at the end of the volume by the scribe but are restored to their proper places in the text below. The *Vita* seems to be written in two contemporary hands: "Pagus . . . incelebris" (Bk. I, c. 1) and from "quidem" at the opening of fo. 167 to the end of the volume, including the Letter and Prologue, are written in one hand, and the intervening part in the other.

(the only known copy of the work) with such explanatory notes as seem necessary at the foot of each page. This is followed by a hitherto unpublished abridgment of the *Vita* contained in MS. B.iv, 39b, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, collated with three other abridgments from MSS. Harl. 322, Lansd. 436, and Cott. Vesp. E.9. in the British Museum. At the end of the volume is printed an interesting collection of Miracles of St. Wulfstan and an account of the Canonization and Translation of the bishop, from the Durham MS. Throughout, the punctuation of the MSS. has been followed as far as possible, but the editor has inserted capital letters where desirable. The readings of the MSS. have been followed even where they appear to be erroneous, and suggested emendations are given in the footnotes.

The authorship of the work was by Wharton correctly attributed to William of Malmesbury, who speaks of himself as William in the prefatory letter and makes reference to his *Gesta Regum*.¹ The work was written during the rule of Warin, prior of Worcester, the dates of whose tenure of office are unknown, but may be given as c. 1124 to c. 1143.² To Warin the Life is dedicated. William indicates in his prefatory letter that his work is a Latin rendering of an earlier Life of Wulfstan, written in Old English by Coleman, a Worcester monk, who in addition to being his chaplain for fifteen years held the office of chancellor of the bishop. Coleman wrote between 1095, the year of Wulfstan's decease, and 1113, when he himself died,³ and his biography is, apart from the twelfth-century annals of the Saxon Chronicle, the last piece of consecutive narrative prose written in the Old English language of which we have any knowledge. It is unfortunate that it has not survived,⁴

¹ Bk. III, c. 16. *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs), p. 317 (Threatened Danish invasion of 1085). To "our other writings" the reader is referred for the reason for the ban placed on Archbishop Stigand by the papacy. The reference may be to either the *Gesta Regum*, p. 244, or to the *Gesta Pontificum* (Ed. Hamilton), pp. 35-37. More probably the latter was intended.

² Nicholas, who was probably his predecessor, died in 1124 (Weaver, *John of Worcester*, p. 18). His successor Ralf is said to have died in 1143 (*Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 548). Warin was certainly prior in 1137 (Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 41), and according to the Charter of Ralph Pincerna of Oversley relating to the foundation of Alcester priory, Warwickshire, was in office in 1140 (*Monasticon*, IV, p. 175).

³ *Flor. Wig.* (Thorpe), II, p. 66.

⁴ There can be little doubt that it was Coleman's Life which was sent to the Pope during the negotiations to secure the canonization of Wulfstan in the early thirteenth century. Probably it was never sent back to England. See below, pp. xlvii, 149.

but for historical purposes the *Vita* is a substitute of the highest value, for there are many indications, particularly in the hitherto unprinted parts, that William of Malmesbury followed Coleman's work closely without altering the order of events, as he claims to have done. The many references to Coleman as being present at some miracle, or riding next to the bishop and interceding for some afflicted person, or inserting or omitting from time to time the names of witnesses, all show how closely William adhered to the original.¹ The alterations made by the translator seem to have been slight² and his additions few.³ Though he unfortunately omitted the names of many of the witnesses inserted by Coleman, he mentions a number of persons concerning whom we have information from other sources.⁴ Wherever the Life can be tested it gains credit, and the fidelity of the translation seems to be such as to justify the claim that it is entitled to a place among the contemporary authorities for the latter half of the eleventh century.

By the middle of the twelfth century, the Old English language was evidently becoming unfamiliar to the monks at Worcester, who before that time requested William of Malmesbury to translate Coleman's work into Latin. William visited Worcester during the priorate of Nicholas (c. 1113-1124), who became his personal friend, when in search of materials for the historical works which he was preparing. He made little use of Coleman's Life in the *Gesta Regum*, but the section relating to Wulfstan in the *Gesta Pontificum* is clearly a résumé of the earlier biography. The *Vita Wulfstani* occupies a minor place among the works of William of Malmesbury. As a translation it may be compared with the *Passio Sancti Indracti Martyris*, which is attributed to him and is based

¹ References to Coleman are to be found in the following chapters of the Life: Book I, c. 1, c. 4; Book II, c. 1, c. 4, c. 9, c. 10, c. 13, c. 16, c. 18, c. 19, c. 22; Book III, c. 10, c. 16. The story of the plasterer who spurned the preaching of Coleman seems to come straight from the irate chaplain. William also states that he had translated back into Latin passages from the Life of St. Gregory which, together with many others, Coleman had put into English.

² He ended the first book with the Norman Conquest instead of with Wulfstan's elevation to the bishopric. He also suppressed long passages of rhetoric and quotations from saints' Lives (I, c. 16) and excluded the sections in which Coleman had described with much verbiage the episcopal office rather than Wulfstan's Life (II, c. 18).

³ For material derived from Prior Nicholas, see III, c. 9, c. 10, c. 13, and c. 17.

⁴ e.g. Ailsa of Longney (II, c. 17), Sewy of Ratcliffe (II, c. 22) and Swertlin of Wycombe (II, c. 9), concerning whom see the footnotes to the chapters.

upon a vernacular account now lost.¹ The Life of Wulfstan may also be compared with the Life of St. Aldhelm,² for the composition of which William made some use of the earlier Life by Faricius, abbot of Abingdon.³ The underlying Life by Coleman is the last example of the practice established in the Old English Church from the early eighth century by which the life of a bishop of outstanding merit was recorded within a few years of his death by some person in close touch with him. After the Lives of the three great tenth-century reformers, Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold, there seems never to have existed any contemporary Life of an English bishop except Coleman's work. In the historical literature of the late eleventh century the *Vita Wulfstani* has a place which is almost unique, for few of Wulfstan's contemporaries were fortunate enough to have their works recorded by a good biographer.⁴

Of the historical works which are dependent upon, as distinct

¹ See Stubbs, *Gest. Reg.* I, cxvii-cxix.

² Printed as the fifth book of the *Gesta Pontificum* by Hamilton (pp. 330-443), but it is only in the MS. which the editor held to be William's autograph copy of the second recension that it appears as part of the *Gesta Pontificum*. In the best MS. of the first recension of the *Gesta Pontificum* a shorter form of the Life is given after the conclusion of the four books of the *Gesta*. There is reason to think that the date, 1125, at the end of the Life of St. Aldhelm, applies to this biography only and not, as is usually supposed, to the *Gesta* as well.

³ Printed by Giles (*Sancti Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 354-382). In contrast to Malmesbury's high opinion of Coleman stands his estimate of Faricius, whose method he considered faulty, and whom as a foreigner he regarded as less suitably equipped than a monk of Malmesbury for the task of writing a Life of Aldhelm. While he follows Coleman very closely in both general plan and details, his plan in the Life of St. Aldhelm, though it exhibits certain similarities, is in the main different from that of Faricius, whose work William is at times consciously correcting.

⁴ Giso, Bishop of Wells (1061-1088), has left an autobiographical sketch (Hunter, *See of Somerset*, Camden Series, 1840), and there is an early account of the work of Leofric (1046-1072) at Exeter (Warren, *Leofric Missal*, p. 2), but neither is a complete biography. The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester (1077-1108), written by a contemporary monk (*Anglia Sacra*, II, p. 271) is full but not comparable to the Life of Wulfstan as a source of historical information. Even Lanfranc had but a mediocre biographer, for Miles Crispin was dependent upon an earlier work, Gilbert Crispin's Life of Herlwin, Abbot of Bec, for much of his material (see Robinson: *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 58 seq.). Perhaps the closest parallel to Coleman's Life is the *De Vita et Conuersatione Anselmi archiepiscopi* of Eadmer (Rule, p. 305 seq.), for each biographer was constantly in touch with the man whose career he described from personal knowledge. Of the first four Norman Archbishops of York, whose lives were written by Hugh the Chantor (Raine, *Historians of York*, II,

from analogous to, the *Vita*, or rather the Life by Coleman, the two chief are the *Gesta Pontificum* and the Latin Chronicle attributed to Florence of Worcester. To the former work reference has been made above. In the latter there is an account of the career of Wulfstan up to his elevation to the bishopric in the annal for 1062, and several other references to him occur in later annals. A comparison of the annal for 1062 with certain passages in the *Vita* has led to the conclusion that the chronicler's brief sketch is a summary of the biography written by Coleman. The similarity between the order of the incidents, and the appearance in the two narratives of similar remarks on the habits of Wulfstan, suggest that the chronicler followed Coleman. There are, moreover, certain linguistic resemblances between the chronicle and the *Vita* which are not such as would be found if either of these Latin works was based upon the other, but are the kind that would be expected if each writer, the one summarizing and the other translating, had before him the same Old English original, namely Coleman's Life. The passages in which resemblances of this character have been detected are here set out in parallel columns.

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Annal for 1062 (Thorpe, I, p. 218).

(p. 218) Hic deo amabilis, regione Merciorum in provincia Warewicensi, parentibus religiosis oriundus, patre videlicet Eatstano, matre vero Wlfgeova nomine;

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(The references are to books and chapters.)

(I, c. 1) Pagus est in regione Merciorum non incelebris, Warwiccensis dictus. Is habet uillam Icentune uocatam; cuius iam inde a proavis incole parentes uenerabilis Wlstani fuere. Pater Æthelstanus, mater Wlfgeua nominati;

pp. 98-227), only Thomas I was the contemporary of Wulfstan. Hugh's Life of Thomas, written in the third or fourth decade of the twelfth century, cannot be regarded as a contemporary account, and the author not only omits all details regarding the early lives of these prelates, but in describing their tenure of office, gives little information beyond that relating to the controversy between Canterbury and York. Of Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Norwich (1091-1119), the letters and sermons survive, and we have a contemporary account of one phase of the career of William, Bishop of Durham (Arnold, *Simeon of Durham*, I, p. 170). Of such important persons as Osmund of Salisbury and Walchelin of Winchester no contemporary lives appear to have been written. The historical material mentioned in this note has been confined to records relating to bishops, but it may be added that of one of the abbots of Wulfstan's diocese—Æthelwig of Evesham, the bishop's rival—a contemporary record has been preserved in a later work (Macray, *Chronicle of Evesham*, pp. 87-96) and introduces some facts relating to the reign of William the Conqueror the significance of which has not yet been recognized.

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(*Ibid.*) Qui ambo, scilicet parentes ejus, in tantum religioni studebant, ut longe ante finem vitae castitatem professi, se ab invicem separantes, sub sanctae conversationis habitu vitam consummare gauderent.

(p. 219) monachicum habitum et ordinem a venerabili Briht-eago, ejusdem ecclesiae episcopo, suscepit;

(*Ibid.*) statimque in ipso initio arduam et omni religiositate plenam vitam arripiens, in vigiliis, jejuniis, orationibus omnique uirtutum genere, subito admirandus apparuit. Hinc ob morum disciplinam, primo magister et custos infantum aliquandiu constituitur; deinde ob solertiam ecclesiastici officii, cantor simul et thesaurarius ecclesiae ex praecepto seniorum efficitur. Nactus vero occasionem liberius Deo serviendi ex commissa sibi custodia ecclesiae, totum se contemplativae vitae dedit, die noctuque in ea aut orationi aut divinae lectioni insistens, bidui triduique jejuniis assidue corpus macerans;

(*Ibid.*) Denique et cum vi naturae dormire compelleretur, non lecto aut lectosterniis membra ad soporem fovebat, sed super aliquod scamnum ecclesiae, libro in quo orabat sive legebat caput sustentans, paulisper se reclinabat.

(*Ibid.*) Post aliquod autem tempus ipse vir reverendus prior et

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(I, c. 2) Interea uterque adolescentis parens secularis uite pertesus, alios pannos, alios mores. et deuoto ardebat animo; et frequenti uolebat susurrio. Nec multa morari quin desideriis facerent satis; pater apud Wigorniam monachi habitum, mater in eadem urbe sanctimonialis suscepit uelum. Pannorum mutatio inuitauit bonorum exercitium, ut non esset ociosum alterasse uestes nec auxisse uirtutes. Ita deuotione simplici et studio efficaci propositum executi; diebus suis expletis, nature cessere.

(I, c. 3) Wlstanus apud Wigorniam induit monachum, Brihthego indulgente fauorem et habitum.

(*Ibid.*) Quo circa sinceritate uite ipsius explorata, fratres illius ecclesie non multo post puerorum faciunt custodem, mox cantorem, postremo secretarium; quatinus haberet liberiores copiam orandi, et uberiores de uirtute in uirtutem crescendi materiam. Quam ille occasionem dignanter amplexus dies ieiuniis, et uigiliis totas continuabat noctes. Numerabat in deliciis; quod nos inertes homines magno ducimus supplicio. Diebus omnibus ad unumquemque uersum vii psalmorum genua flectere; idem noctibus in psalmo centesimo octauo x^o facere. In occidentali porticu ecclesie ubi erat altare omnium sanctorum cum tropheo uexilli dominici, obserato aditu Christum uocare; lacrimis pulsare celum; ethera onerare plancibus.

(*Ibid.*) Plumam et ullum omnino lectum non habere; sopori non indulgere, sed surripere. Super gradus ante altare capite posito se humo exponere: uel etiam codice aliquo uertici summisso, super lignum tenuem inuitare soporem.

(I, c. 5) Antistes maxime; qui sic in Wlstanum afficiebatur animo; ut

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pater congregationis ab Aldredo episcopo ponitur; quod officium valde laudabiliter adimplens, prioris conversationis austeritatem minime reliquit, immo, ut caeteris exemplum bene vivendi daret, multipliciter adauxit.

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quouis honore dignum putaret. Nam et strenue peracti officii industria; spem altioris dignitatis salubriter exsequendi, si conferretur infuderat. Hac occasione prepositus ut tunc prior ut nunc dicitur monachorum constitutus; statim materiam qua uirtus emineret arripuit, multis incommodis intus forisque propulsatis. Quod ut efficacius faceret; uite sue subiectis religiosa porrigebat exempla; erubescens scilicet predicare, quod fastidiret facere.

(p. 220) Deinde post aliquot annorum curricula, electo ad archiepiscopatum Eboracensis ecclesiae ipso Aldredo Wigornensis ecclesiae episcopo, fit unanimis consensus tam cleri quam } Compare
etiam totius plebis in ejus electione, rege videlicet annuente ut } *Vit. Wulst.*
quem sibi vellent praesulem eligerent. } Bk. I, c. 11.

(*Ibid.*) Contigit namque eo tempore et legatos sedis apostolicae ejus electioni interesse qui a domino papa ad regem Anglorum Eadwardum missi Wigorniae per totam fere Quadragesimam degebant, expectantes responsum suae legationis usque ad curiam regalem proximi Paschae.

(I, c. 10) Huius igitur conditionis arbitros et quedam alia ecclesiastica negotia in Anglia expedituros cardinales adductos; archiepiscopus regi exhibuit. Ita summa reuerentia honore summo, apud se aliquamdiu habitos; iterum ductoris tutele delegauit denuo ad curiam in Pascha reducendi. Aldredus apostolici precepti tenorem secutus imminente Quadragesima in Wigorniam pedem reflexit. Inde in predia sui iuris profectus; stabilem eis mansionem apud Wlstanum priorem indixit.

(*Ibid.*) Hi videntes, dum ibi morabantur, ejus laudabilem conversationem, in ejus electione non tantum consentiebant, immo tam clerum quam plebem maxime ad hoc instigabant, suae auctoritate ejus electionem firmabant:

(I, c. 10) [Long description of Wulfstan's manner of observing Lent.]

(c. 11) Hec cardinalibus fuerunt incitamento; ut eius mirarentur uitam, laudarent doctrinam; quam reuerentior faciebat, dum anticiparet exemplo quod predicaret verbo. Denique ad curiam reuersi, dum Wigornensis episcopi uentilaretur electio; nomen eius tulerunt in medium. His laudibus suscitauerunt maiorem uiri animum Edwardi regis &c.

(*Ibid.*) illo vero obstinatissime renuente, seque indignum acclamante,

(I, c. 12) Ipse porro impositionem episcopatus adeo ingrate tulit; ut

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et cum sacramento etiam affirmante se multo libentius decollationi quam tam altae ordinationi succumbere velle.

(p. 221) Consecratus est igitur episcopus a venerando Aldredo Eboracensium archiepiscopo, eo quod Stigando Doruberniae archiepiscopo officium episcopale tunc a domino apostolico interdictum erat;

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diceret sicut qui presentes fuere testantur, maluisse se decapitari, quam illud onus pati.

(*Ibid.*) Non multo autem post consecratus est Eboraci ab eodem archiepiscopo, quod Cantuariensi Stigando, Romanus papa interdixisset officio.

Most of the annal for 1062 thus appears to be derived from Coleman. There remains certain information in this and the other annals which is not found in the *Vita* and may therefore be assumed to have been absent from Coleman's work. Current tradition was probably the foundation of some statements.¹ The insertion of the day of the election and consecration of Wulfstan and of the name of his predecessor in the office of prior, none of which are in the *Vita*, may be accounted for as derived from documentary sources or from the version of the Saxon Chronicle which must have been the source of many of the annals in Florence relating to general English history. From this hypothetical vernacular chronicle, probably in some respects akin to the version commonly known as "D," were derived, in all likelihood, the accounts² of the part played by Wulfstan in the suppression of the baronial rebellions of 1074 and 1088, and the state-

¹ Among these may be reckoned the assertion that Wulfstan's mother persuaded him to become a monk, and that his unwillingness to become bishop of Worcester was overcome by the sharp words of a hermit named Wlsius. The story, "which we should hardly believe had we not heard it from his own mouth," that Wulfstan, devoting himself to religious observances, passed four days and four nights without sleep, is the sort of anecdote with which any inmate of the house might be familiar and does not affect the conclusion that the writer of the chronicle did not base his account of Wulfstan on personal knowledge.

² Thorpe, I, p. 228; II, pp. 10, 24-5. The omission of these incidents is not surprising when it is remembered that the *Vita* was intended for a monastic audience. The account of the rebellion of 1074 in this chronicle is the only record of this episode of Wulfstan's career, for the bishop is not mentioned in connexion with it in any surviving copy of the Saxon Chronicle. The account of the rebellion of 1088 in the Chronicle of Florence disagrees with the Saxon Chronicle in one important particular, for it states that Wulfstan went to the castle at the request of the garrison, whereas the Saxon Chronicle makes it clear that the custody of the castle was committed to Wulfstan. The error seems to lie in the Latin rather than the vernacular chronicle, which latter is followed by William of Malmesbury in the *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs, II, p. 361).

ment that Wulfstan submitted to the Conqueror in 1066. The writer's assertion that the monastery which Wulfstan's father entered was the cathedral priory is probably an error, and it is uncertain whether the account¹ of the events of 1061-1062 and the annal² for 1095 are wholly free from inaccuracy. The most serious error, an error of which no contemporary of Wulfstan could have been guilty, in this part of the chronicle is the assertion that Wulfstan made a profession of canonical obedience to archbishop Stigand. There is nothing corresponding to this statement in the *Vita* and it is established as false by the unequivocal language of Wulfstan's profession to archbishop Lanfranc.³ There is good reason to believe that the story of the renunciation by archbishop Ealdred of all claims on the see of Worcester, as given in this chronicle, is equally unauthentic.⁴

The conclusion here reached, that the Chronicle of Florence,

¹ The legates are made to go to Worcester by royal command, but it is stated in the *Vita* that it was Ealdred who left them with Wulfstan in pursuance of his promise to find a suitable successor. Of these legates no information is given in the *Vita* except that they were cardinals. In the Chronicle of Florence it is stated that they were two in number and that Ermenfrid, bishop of Sion, was one. Though there seems to be no reason why he should not have been a cardinal, Ermenfrid is not usually so described and the statement may be a confusion with the events of 1070. The chronicler also asserts that the legates were sent by Pope Alexander. By the time they reached England Nicholas must have been dead (he died in 1061), but it was certainly Nicholas who sent them. Whereas in the *Vita* the cardinals recommend the appointment of Wulfstan to the king and the Witan, the normal procedure, they are described as urging the clergy and people of Worcester to elect Wulfstan in the Chronicle of Florence, which latter seems hardly reasonable.

² The chronicler (Thorpe, II, p. 36) places Wulfstan's appearance to Robert, bishop of Hereford, at Cricklade. The *Vita* shows that a vision took place at the royal court and the king is known to have spent Christmas at Wissant, passing over to Dover a few days later. The chronicle also records (Thorpe, II, p. 37) a second appearance to bishop Robert which is not mentioned in the *Vita*. Not improbably both stories are based upon genuine tradition.

³ Printed in full at the end of this volume. Stubbs supplied a copy of it to Freeman, who printed part of it in his appendix on the ecclesiastical position of Stigand (*Norman Conquest*, Vol. II, App. CC). Freeman's attempt to explain away the language of the profession does not recommend itself to any modern critic.

⁴ It is strange that such a renunciation if made was not used as an argument against archbishop Thomas, and it may be doubted whether Thomas would have ventured to put forward his claim if Ealdred had made so definite a public statement on the relation of the two sees as is implied in the words of the Chronicle of Florence.

so far as it relates to Wulfstan, is of secondary importance, is another proof that it cannot be regarded as a contemporary authority for the latter part of the eleventh century.¹ The author of the chronicle not only used Coleman's Life of Wulfstan, which may have been written as late as 1113, but also employed, to an extent which is not always recognised, the *Historia Novorum* of Eadmer.² It is a fact

¹ In 1907 the late Mr. W. H. Stevenson pointed out in the *English Historical Review* (Vol. XXII, pp. 72 *seq.*) that the famous description of the Domesday Survey in this chronicle is derived from a tract written by Robert, bishop of Hereford, who introduced into England the Chronicle of Marianus, which forms the basis of that attributed to Florence. Nor is it derived directly from this tract, but through the medium of a continuation of Marianus' work, probably by bishop Robert himself. Had the writer been at work in the eleventh century he would not have used the account of another author in this way. Mr. Weaver in his edition of the *Chronicle of John of Worcester* brought to light a passage overlooked by Thorpe which indicates that the author of the Chronicle of Florence was engaged upon the early part of the work in 1108 (*Chron. of John of Worc.*, p. 8 and note. Mr. Weaver has kindly informed me that the passage quoted in his footnote occurs in the preliminary tables).

² The borrowings relate not only to Anselm and ecclesiastical affairs but even include the account of the punishment of false moneyers in 1108 and of the drying-up of the Thames and the Medway in 1114. The mere extent and position of these passages in the Worcester Chronicle prove that they cannot be interpolations, nor could it be argued that Eadmer was the borrower. The true extent of the dependence of the Worcester writer on Eadmer can be observed only when the relevant passages are set out in parallel columns, but for the present purpose it will suffice to indicate where these passages are to be found:—

1095 (Thorpe, II, 37), Mission of Walter, bishop of Albano. See Eadmer (Rule, pp. 68–73). "juxta conductum . . . deosculatum" verbal borrowing.

1098 (II, 43), "concilio plurima . . . consentiret" almost verbal from Eadmer, pp. 104–6.

1099 (II, 43), "in adversarios . . . consummatum" from Eadmer, p. 114.

1102 (II, 51), "duos de clericis . . . Herefordensi" and "considentibus . . . non potuit" from Eadmer, p. 141. Information concerning abbots deposed in co. of Westminster is probably from Eadmer, p. 142. "Lundoniae . . . subrogatus est" from Eadmer, p. 144.

1106 (II, 55), "Rex . . . Angliam rediit" in part from Eadmer, p. 182.

1107 (II, 55, 56), "In kalendis Augusti . . . honoris privaretur" from Eadmer, p. 186. "Gerardus . . . Dunholmensi" from Eadmer, p. 187.

1108 (II, 57), "Monetam . . . aerumnas agebat," from Eadmer, p. 193. Statutes for the correction of clergy from Eadmer, p. 193. Consecration of bishops of London and Rochester (II, 59) from Eadmer, pp. 197–8.

1109 (II, 59), "et sequenti die . . ." from Eadmer, p. 206.

1114 (II, 67), "Fluvius Medewege . . . didicimus" from Eadmer, p. 225.

1116 (II, 69), "Habita . . . fuisset" from Eadmer, pp. 237–8 (abridged) and "circa mensem . . . ingreditur" largely from Eadmer, p. 239.

The borrowings in the annals 1118–1121 are printed by Mr. Weaver in small type.

that Eadmer first brought his work down to the death of Anselm, or the version known to William of Malmesbury when he was writing the *Gesta Regum* ended at that point.¹ The part relating to the period after 1114 cannot have been available for the Worcester writer until 1121 and was probably not circulated until the summer of 1124.² If therefore Florence, whose death is recorded in the annal for 1118, was the author of this chronicle, his work must have ceased in 1113 at the latest, if not at 1095 where the borrowings from Eadmer begin, but there is no break in the manuscripts at either of these points nor is any change in style observable. It is now known that the heading "Hic incipit continuatio chronici Florentii Wigornensis," printed before the annal for 1118 by Thorpe, has no authority earlier than the seventeenth century,³ and both internal evidence and the Corpus MS., a Worcester book not improbably the autograph of John, suggests that the whole chronicle, from the earliest stages to the end in the year 1140, comes from one author. The view that the authorship of this chronicle should be attributed to John rather than to Florence of Worcester derives support from the famous passage in which Ordericus Vitalis described a chronicle which a monk of Worcester named John was writing when he visited the priory.⁴ The only serious objections are the reference to Florence in the annal for 1118 and the fact that the *Historia Regum* attributed to Simeon of Durham, while largely based on the Worcester chronicle from the year 848, is unconnected with that work after the year 1119, but it is not impossible that explanations will be forthcoming to account for both difficulties.⁵ There is moreover

¹ *Gest. Reg.* (Ed. Stubbs), p. 2. Rule (*Historia Novorum*, p. xli) concluded that the first four books in their original form belong to 1112.

² Rule, *op. cit.*, p. 1, says of Book V of the *Historia Novorum*, "the final publication took place certainly as late as the spring of 1121 and probably not long before the summer of 1124." Books V and VI cover the period 1109 to 1122 and were used by the Worcester writer for the composition of the annals 1114, 1116, 1118, 1119, 1120, and 1121.

³ Weaver, *Chron. of John of Worc.*, p. 13, note 1.

⁴ Ed. le Prevost, II, p. 159. The mention of John is generally though not without reluctance regarded as an error for Florence, but it is not easy to understand how such a confusion could arise.

⁵ It will be noticed that the annal does not describe Florence as the author, but reads "obit Domnus Florentius Wigornensis monachus. Huius subtilitientia et studiosi laboris industria, preeminet cunctis haec chronicarum chronica." It is not impossible that this should be regarded as a tribute of the author John to an older and highly esteemed monk who had supervised his labours. Simeon of Durham copied the story of a storm at Momerfeld com that part of the annal for 1118 which follows the record of the death

good reason for believing that the main part of the Chronicle of Florence, the greatest literary outcome of the episcopate of Wulfstan,¹ was not written until after the *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* had been circulated and that the author used these works.² When it is observed that the eleventh-century annals of this chronicle, so far from being set down contemporaneously, were in all probability written in the third decade of the twelfth century, the errors in the portions relating to Wulfstan become more intelligible.

of Florence. Arnold appears not to have noticed that the passage "Goffridus . . . tertiam" on p. 254 comes from John of Worcester (1119) and that the quotation "Calixtus . . . multitude" from Eadmer is also in John's work. Simeon makes some use of Eadmer for his annal for 1119, but not for the years 1120-1122. Simeon and John give the same reading of the canons of the council at Westminster in 1126 and the fact that the account of the council which precedes the canons is almost identical in the two works possibly indicates that the copy of the Worcester Chronicle used for the compilation of the earlier annals covered the later period as well.

¹ It was begun at the command of Wulfstan according to Orderic (le Prevost, II, p. 159). It may be assumed that what Wulfstan initiated was the transcription of the Chronicle of Marianus to which he had evidently been introduced by his friend Robert, bishop of Hereford (cf. *Gest. Pont.*, p. 301), though the work was not performed until after his death.

² The Chronicle of Florence is usually regarded as the earliest of the Latin histories based on the Old English Chronicle, and Stevenson (Asser's *Life of Alfred*, p. lx) held that William of Malmesbury used it, though Stubbs (*Gesta Regum*, II, cxxviii seq.) had arrived at the opposite conclusion. A careful analysis of the passages common to William and Florence and of Stevenson's arguments has led to the conclusion that though the exact significance of certain of the former is difficult to determine, the evidence taken as a whole strongly suggests that the Worcester writer employed both the *Gesta Regum* and the *Gesta Pontificum* much as he had used Eadmer's work. Though it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion until the manuscripts of the chronicle and in particular the Corpus MS. have been examined from this point of view, it may be suggested that when William of Malmesbury wrote the *Gesta Regum* and the *Gesta Pontificum* the Chronicle of Florence was still in its early stages. William seems to have regarded himself as the successor of Bede not merely because he set out to be a historian rather than an annalist, but because when he wrote there existed no historical work other than the Saxon Chronicle to fill the gap between the point at which Bede's work terminated and the early twelfth century. Such is the most natural interpretation of the Prologue to the *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs, I, p. 1), and it may be doubted whether William would have made specific mention of the Chronicle of Ethelwerd and Eadmer's work if he had known of a complete Latin Chronicle at Worcester. Not improbably William had seen John at work on the preliminary matter and it is likely that it is the Worcester monk rather than Henry of Huntingdon whom he has in mind when he speaks at the conclusion of the fourth book of the *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs, II, p. 518) of imitators who owe him the debt due to a pioneer.

In the literature of the period which is not of Worcester origin little is said of Wulfstan. There are a few references in Henry of Huntingdon's *Chronicle*, Hugh the Chantor mentions him once,¹ and there is but one reference to him in the *Saxon Chronicle*.² Most of the information in William of Malmesbury's own *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* is traceable to Coleman's biography,³ as also is the information in the twelfth-century chronicle in manuscript Cott. Vit. C. viii in the British Museum.⁴ In Hemming's *Chartulary* a certain amount of documentary evidence relating to the times of Wulfstan is preserved and the chartulary also contains a brief account of his career, our earliest narrative source, probably written by Hemming himself.⁵

The abridgments of the *Vita* printed in this volume contain few facts which are not in the *Life* itself, but their chief value is that they not only supply the contents of a folio which is missing in the Cotton manuscript, but preserve at times what are clearly superior readings to those in that manuscript. They also illustrate the way in which monastic writers treated the texts before them, and it is interesting to observe that the miraculous element acquires increased prominence with each successive abbreviation. The abbreviators, while often using the words of

¹ Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, II, p. 99.

² Plummer, I, p. 223 (Rebellion of 1088).

³ In the *Gesta Regum* there appears the story of Wulfstan's reliance upon divine aid in the conflict with archbishop Thomas (Ed. Stubbs, pp. 354-5) and the writer refers to Wulfstan's part in the suppression of the rebellion of 1088 (Stubbs, p. 361) and his abolition of the slave trade at Bristol (p. 329). Two of these references come from Coleman's *Life*, of which a full summary is given in the *Gesta Pontificum* (Hamilton, pp. 278-289). The additional particulars in this précis not traceable to Coleman are the account of Wulfstan's share in the suppression of the rebellion of 1088, some further information regarding Aldwin at Malvern, the bishop's prediction of his own death after hearing of that of his sister, the description of Wulfstan's tomb and of its miraculous preservation (apparently during the fire of 1113), and the story of a certain merchant named Sewulf (Seuulf) who, in fulfilment of a prophecy made by Wulfstan, entered the monastery at Malmesbury.

⁴ The chronicle is an early conflation of the *Gesta Regum*, *Gesta Pontificum* and the *Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*. The writer adds no new information about Wulfstan, but states erroneously that the bishop was born in the time of Cnut (fo. 13b, col. 2).

⁵ Hemming (Ed. Hearne), pp. 403-8. The short life of Wulfstan describes his tenure of the various offices in the priory and enumerates the lands which at different times he acquired or recovered for the monastery. The writer also gives certain dates which serve as a check upon other authors.

the *Vita*, have recast whole sentences and chapters in such a way as to render it impossible to collate them with the full text by means of footnotes without detracting from the clarity of the more important part of the volume. The abridgments have therefore been printed at length, the copy in MS. B.iv, 39b in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham forming the basis of the text. They are five in number :—

(i) MS. B.iv, 39b at Durham. This abridgment is written in the same hand as the Life of St. Oswald the Archbishop by Senatus, prior of Worcester (printed by Raine, *Historians of York*, II, pp. 60 *seq.*) which precedes it in the MS. and the Miracles of Wulfstan, printed in this volume, which follow it. The MS. may be assumed to be of Worcester origin and was probably written about 1240. It is bound up with a fourteenth-century copy of the Vision of the Virgin Elizabeth and a calendar of about the same date, neither of which is connected with the earlier MS. or seemingly connected with Worcester. The earlier manuscript is very well written and handsomely rubricated, while the capitals are executed in green and red. This Life of Wulfstan was believed by Hardy (*Materials*, II, p. 72) to be an independent Latin version of the Life by Coleman, but it is clearly an abridgment of William of Malmesbury's translation. The passage in the prologue "*miracula etiam que adhuc calente memoria uidimus; stili officio posteris duximus exaranda,*" upon which Hardy founded his opinion that this work was "apparently written shortly after Wulfstan's death," refers either to the miracles of the middle of the twelfth century or more probably to those of the early thirteenth. It is not probable that the abbreviator used the manuscript which is now in the Cottonian collection, and if the author had access to an earlier copy, perhaps even the autograph of William of Malmesbury, his readings, when he does not abbreviate the text before him, deserve the greatest respect. The abridgment is divided into books, the first corresponding to Books I and II of the *Vita* and the second to Book III of the full version.

Of the incidents in the Life of Wulfstan omitted by the abbreviator it is not necessary to give a list here. There are, however, a few errors which may be mentioned: Brihteah, bishop of Worcester, who died in 1033, is regarded as the contemporary of Edward the Confessor (Bk. I, c. 2), and it is asserted that Ealdred when bishop delegated certain of his duties to Wulfstan then prior, but this makes the story about the monk Winrich pointless. In describing the building of the new church at Worcester by Wulfstan, the abbreviator states (Bk. II, c. 18) that this was necessitated by the large congregations which assembled on feast days, an interesting detail which may have been omitted inadvertently from the text of the *Vita* as we have it. In this same chapter the writer relates that Wulfstan's prophecy that the church would be destroyed (William of Malmesbury denies in the *Vita*, though not in the *Gesta Pontificum*, that he made such a prophecy) was fulfilled and that the whole city and church were laid in ruins by fire, though the cloth which covered the tomb of Wulfstan escaped unharmed. The miraculous preservation of the tomb was witnessed by Bernard, bishop of St. David's (1115-1147), who wrote letters to Pope Eugenius III (1147-1153), recounting the incident and requesting that Wulfstan should be formally

recognized as a saint. The narrative, which is the only known reference to this fire and to this early attempt to procure the canonization of Wulfstan, relates to the year 1147. The next chapter (Bk. II, c. 19), contains the story of a crippled woman who was restored to health at the tomb of Wulfstan, the miracle being witnessed by Simon, bishop of Worcester, who died in 1150. The incident must belong to the years 1147-1150 if it may be assumed that since it was placed after the fire in the narrative it was posterior in date.

The narrator of this last story was clearly an eye-witness (*nos autem omnes uno ore, unanimi uoto te deum laudamus proclamantes*). It is probable that the other story in the book, that of the cure at the tomb of Wulfstan of a man suffering from dropsy, comes from the same person. In the first book occurs the account of the alleged deposition of Wulfstan (Bk. I, c. 12), taken from Ailred of Rievaulx's Life of Edward the Confessor, which was apparently written in 1163. In its present form, therefore, the abridgment is not earlier than the date of Ailred's work. It is possible that an abridgment was made about 1150 by the eye-witness of the events of that period and that the story from Ailred was worked in at a later date. More probably, however, the accounts of the miracles which constitute the last three chapters of the second book were written down contemporaneously (as were some accounts of miracles in the early thirteenth century) at the end of an unabridged copy of the *Vita*, and that when the abridgment was made these accounts were incorporated at the end without alteration and the story from Ailred was inserted at the appropriate point. The authorship and date of composition are uncertain, but it may be suggested that the abridgment was made by Senatus, prior of Worcester, who died in 1207, since it follows his Life of St. Oswald in the manuscript and the style of the prologues is somewhat similar. Senatus' Life of Oswald is based on that of Eadmer, but though he borrows sentences here and there, his imitation is not as servile as that of the abbreviator of the *Vita Wulfstani*. The abridgment was probably made in the first decade of the thirteenth century, when miracles were being worked at the tomb of Wulfstan and when the negotiations to secure his canonization were in progress. It is probable that it was intended to serve as an official life and as an introduction to an already contemplated record of the "new" miracles, and may have been written for the use of the prelates delegated by Innocent III to inquire into not only the truth of the alleged miracles, but the character of the earthly life of Wulfstan. The actual record sent to the Pope seems to have been the vernacular of Coleman.

(ii) MS. Harl. 322 (H) contains another copy of the work in the Durham MS. The book is a collection of saints' lives written in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but not very well preserved. It is a single-columned MS., having capitals in blue and red but no rubrics. The scribe was evidently somewhat ignorant and it has not been considered necessary to indicate all his orthographical peculiarities in the footnotes. This version omits the first chapter of the Durham copy and has an entirely different prologue. Collations with the Durham MS. are given in the footnotes. It will be noticed that in a number of instances H. has readings which are not found in D., but they are confined to single phrases and words, and merely indicate that a considerable number of copies of the abridgment represented by H. and D. must have existed in the past.

(iii) MS. Lansd. 436 (R). From a MS. akin to H. though not H. itself (for none of the errors of that MS. are here reproduced and there are some examples

of agreement with D. against H.) seems to have been derived the still more abbreviated version of the *Vita Wulfstani* in MS. Lansd. 436, a fourteenth-century collection of saints' lives from Romsey abbey. The prologue is the same as in H. The MS. is beautifully written, double-columned, and ornamented in blue and red. The omissions and the variant readings of this MS. are shown in the footnotes to D., but the concluding chapter has been printed in full because, being a summary of many chapters in the longer abridgments, it could not be collated in the usual way.

(iv) MS. Cott. Vesp. E, 9. This abridgment occurs in a MS. which also contains the chartulary of the Worcestershire priory of Westwood, for the nuns of which house it was probably written. It is not defective as is stated in the Catalogue of MSS. in the Cotton Library, and is written in a clumsy hand of the thirteenth century and divided into short lections. This version was derived from a MS. akin to D., the prologue of which it follows, but the writer has compressed the Life to such a degree that most of the lections have been printed at length.

(v) The Life of Wulfstan in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, which is not included in this volume, since Horstman's edition (*Nova Legenda*, II, pp. 522 seq.) could not be bettered, is based on the *Gesta Pontificum*, the account in the Chronicle of Florence (or Roger of Wendover), and the Abridgment and Miracles in the MS. now at Durham. This Life was printed by Surius and by the Bollandists.¹

II

The date of Wulfstan's birth is uncertain, but it fell in or about 1008. His father was probably that Ælfstan or Æthelstan the "faithful man" of archbishop Oswald to whom was granted in 991 a hide of land at Itchington in Warwickshire.² There Wulfstan was born, but it is uncertain whether the village should be identified with Bishop's Itchington or with Long Itchington about six miles to the north-east.³ He was given a name com-

¹ The Bollandists (*Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. II, p. 602 seq., sub xix Jan.) printed as lives of Wulfstan (i) the passages in the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, arranged in four chapters; (ii) the section in the *Gesta Pontificum*, divided into five chapters; and (iii) the life in Capgrave's *Nov. Leg.*, arranged in four chapters.

² The charter of Oswald is in Hemming's Chartulary (Hearne, p. 126).

³ Dean Hook (*Archæological Journal*, Vol. XX p. 1) assumed that Wulfstan was born at Long Itchington, probably because Bishop's Itchington derived its name from the bishops of Chester. However, Bishop's Itchington was an estate of Coventry abbey, one of the episcopal seats of that bishop, and is entered as the property of the abbey in the Domesday Survey (V.C.H., Warwickshire, I, p. 305b). According to the foundation charter (*Monasticon*, III, p. 190) it was granted to the abbey by Earl Leofric, the founder, whose father Leofwine is known to have taken possession of some of the manors of the church of Worcester. Bishop's Itchington may therefore have been the property of archbishop Oswald. Similarly with regard to Long Itchington,

pounded from those of his parents, Æthelstan and Wulfifu, and it is known that he had two brothers Ælfstan and Byrcstan,¹ and a sister whose name has not been preserved.² To the abbey of Evesham, probably the nearest school within the diocese, Wulfstan was sent to receive a rudimentary education.³ Later he went to Peterborough abbey, where he received instruction from a school-master named Erwin who probably became abbot at a subsequent time.⁴

In the political chaos arising out of the wars between Cnut and Edmund Ironside, Wulfstan's father seems to have lost his lands, and both he and his wife entered monasteries at Worcester. It was not long before Wulfstan, who since his return from Peterborough had led the life of a layman at Itchington, attached himself to the household (*curia*) of Brihteah, then bishop of Worcester. He became in turn deacon and priest, and though he refused the bishop's offer of a wealthy "suburban" church, it was at this period of his life that he was made priest of the church of Hawkesbury, one of the episcopal manors in Gloucestershire. Wulfstan's leanings, however, were towards monasticism and at his own request Brihteah made him a monk in the cathedral priory, at this date a small monastery with hardly more than twelve inmates. Of this little community Wulfstan became successively school-master, precentor, and under Ealdred, who became bishop in 1046, sacristan. Upon the death of Ægelwine he became prior and undertook the reform of the monastery as regards both external and internal affairs.

The statement in the *Life* that the external affairs of the priory were in disorder at this time is borne out by the detailed history of the estates of the monks given in Hemming's *Chartulary*. So heavy was the burden of taxation under Cnut and his sons that many lands were seized in payment of debts which the monks could

which was held in 1086 by the countess Christina, the sister of Edgar Etheling (V.C.H., *Warwickshire*, I, 341a), the fact that it came into the hands of the Limesi family later may suggest that, like other parts of their fee, it was once held by Earl Ælfgar and may have been among the lands of the church of Worcester which his ancestors had secured.

¹ His obit occurs in the Worcester calendar in MS. Bodl. Hatton 113.

² *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 287.

³ The abbot when Wulfstan was there was probably Ælfward, afterwards bishop of London, or his predecessor Brihtmar (*Chron. Evesh.* ed. Macray, pp. 80, 81).

⁴ See footnotes to Book I, c. 1 below.

not meet and almost all the valuable ornaments of the church had to be sacrificed.¹ The possessions of religious houses fell an easy prey to great men at this time and among the despoilers were earl Hacun² and Edric Streona.³ Some of the lost estates were recovered during the priorate of Wulfstan,⁴ and gifts were received from bishop Ealdred.⁵ Under the influence of the countess Godiva, earl Leofric and his son Ælfgar restored to the monks during the priorate of Wulfstan certain lands which had once formed part of the endowment of the priory,⁶ but at the same time the members of this family were among the chief despoilers of the monastery.⁷ The policy which had been begun by Leofric's father Leofwine, into whose hands many villages of the monks had come, was pursued by Edwin and Morcar, Leofric's grandsons.⁸ Another enemy of the monks was Swegn, the son of earl Godwin,⁹ but the rapacity of laymen was not alone responsible for the poverty of the priory at this time, for there is evidence of a considerable amount of nepotism under bishop Brihtheah.¹⁰ Moreover, the practice of granting out lands for long periods, which seems to have led to many losses, was continued during Wulfstan's tenure of office.¹¹

Within the monastery Wulfstan ruled with a firm hand, insisting upon a stricter observance of the Rule, and his efforts were the more

¹ Hemming's Chartulary (Ed. Hearne), pp. 248-9, 254, 277.

² *Ibid.*, p. 251.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁴ Acton Beauchamp was restored to him by a thegn named Ordwi, and Pendock by a certain Northman (*Ibid.*, pp. 249-50).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 406, 408-10.

⁷ When Leofric's brother Godwin undertook on his death-bed to restore to prior Wulfstan the village of Salwarpe it was Leofric who upheld Godwin's son Agelwine in his refusal to carry out the promise (*Ibid.*, p. 259). The same earl helped a certain Erngeat son of Grim to retain Hampton Lovett, which Wulfstan had recovered in a plea (*Ibid.*, p. 260). So also it was one of Leofric's thegns, Simund a Dane, who owned part of Crowle and so impoverished the monks' part that prior Æthelwine gave him the other part in return for certain services (*Ibid.*, p. 264). Edwin the brother of Leofric also took lands which Wulfstan attempted to recover, but without success (*Ibid.*, p. 278).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

¹⁰ During his rule from 1033 to 1038 Brihtheah, a native of Berkshire, gave lands rightly the property of the monks to Ailric his brother (*Ibid.*, p. 266), to his relative Brihtwinne (*Ibid.*, p. 267), to his brother-in-law (*Ibid.*, p. 255), to his relative and chamberlain Atsere (*Ibid.*, p. 269), and to certain of his thegns (*Ibid.*, p. 267). The evidence of Domesday Book bears out some of Hemming's statements and shows that in a number of instances these grants resulted in considerable losses to the monks.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 261.

effective because he provided in his own life an example by which others might be guided. While yet prior he endeavoured to raise the moral standards of the populace by preaching, and made good the delinquencies of the priests of his time by bestowing upon the children of the poor the sacrament of baptism which they could not afford to purchase. Such activities, though they raised a protest from at least one of the inmates, did not detract from Wulfstan's care for the priory, for during his priorate he added a bell-tower to the church which St. Oswald had built. It is uncertain whether the passage in the charter relating to Alveston wherein Wulfstan records that he had raised the number of the monks from little over twelve to fifty, applies only to his tenure of the episcopate or to that of the priorate as well. It is most likely that the increase was gradual and began while he was prior.¹

On the death of Cynesige archbishop of York, in December 1060, Ealdred was appointed to succeed him and hoped to hold the see of York and that of Worcester as well.² However, in the following year, Pope Nicholas II refused to grant him the pallium unless he first surrendered the bishopric of Worcester. There was no compromise, and though the terms of Nicholas were at first refused, circumstances which are described at length in the Life led to the acquiescence of Ealdred. The Pope then sent to England legates whose business it was among other things to see that a successor

¹ For the Alveston charter, see Hemming (Ed. Hearne), p. 418. The admission at this date of the son of "Northman" is recorded by Hemming because it was accompanied by the gift or restoration of land. (Hearne, p. 249.) Prior Wulfstan refused admission to the son of one of the despoilers of the priory unless his entry was accompanied by the restoration of all or at least part of the lands which his father had seized. (*Ibid.*, p. 260.) A passage in Domesday (V.C.H., *Worc.*, I, 295b) records that a hide of land belonging to the monks had been leased to a nun Eadgyth who "on their number increasing under King William" restored it to them. There is a reference to the admission of a monk during Wulfstan's episcopate in the passage (V.C.H., *Worc.*, I, p. 291b) which records that Little Washbourne (3 hides) was held by Elmer who became a monk, the bishop receiving his land.

² For this there was good historical precedent since Oswald had retained the see of Worcester after his promotion to York and his successors Aldulf and Wulfstan both held the two bishoprics which were thus united during the fifty years between 972 and 1023 (unless, as is probable, Leofsige, who was made bishop of Worcester in 1016, was independent of the northern metropolitan from the date of his appointment). In 1040 the see of Worcester was taken from bishop Lyfing for political reasons and given to Ælfric archbishop of York, who, however, surrendered it in the next year (*Flor. Wig.*, Ed. Thorpe, I, pp. 194, 195.)

was found for Ealdred at Worcester. The archbishop left the cardinals, who had journeyed with him to England, at Worcester priory as the guests of Wulfstan during Lent, probably intending thereby to indicate a suitable successor. Returning to the Easter court, the cardinals, who had been much impressed by Wulfstan's mode of life, proposed that he should succeed to the vacant see. Their proposal received the support of the two archbishops Ealdred and Stigand and of earls Harold and Ælfgar, and was approved by the king.

The election made at the Easter assembly of 1062 was canonically confirmed on August 29¹ of the same year, and on September 8¹ Wulfstan was consecrated at York by Ealdred, not as his suffragan, but because archbishop Stigand's position was uncanonical. As has been noticed above, the author of the Chronicle of Florence was in error in his view that Wulfstan made a profession of canonical obedience to Stigand. It is equally unlikely that there is any truth in the chronicler's assertion that Ealdred made a formal renunciation of any claims that he might possess over Wulfstan. At the same time the document which purports to be a grant of the see of Worcester to archbishop Ealdred by Edward the Confessor may be rejected as a forgery.² Nevertheless, Ealdred maintained to the end of his life a paramount influence in Wulfstan's diocese.³ For some time after his consecration, Wulfstan was left at York as Ealdred's deputy, and on his return to Worcester received no more of the episcopal lands than seven villages, Ealdred retaining the rest. Later, Wulfstan recovered all the lands pertaining to his office except twelve villages which Ealdred held during his lifetime but which were recovered from his successor archbishop Thomas.⁴

¹ *Flor. Wig.*, anno 1062.

² Thomas, *Antiquities*, Appendix, p. 1. The charter which emanates from York is dated December 31, 1062, but it contains a number of obvious errors. It mentions a grant (said to have been destroyed in the Danish wars) by king "Eadward" to archbishop Oswald and a papal privilege obtained by the archbishop from Formosus who was pope about a century before his time. The charter also mentions an alleged privilege of Pope Nicholas to Ealdred.

³ This probably accounts for the view of Hugh the Chantor and other northern writers that Wulfstan was a mere assistant bishop. The independence of Wulfstan's position is proved not only by the *Vita* but by the language of Edward the Confessor's writ announcing his appointment to the bishopric, 1062.

⁴ They were recovered in the dispute between Wulfstan and archbishop Thomas in an assembly at the Parret, *c.* 1070. Since the loss of these twelve villages was only temporary, it cannot be the "primary origin of the peculiar

Though Wulfstan's position was almost reduced to that of a *chor-episcopus*, it is probable that both he and the monks benefited by the protection of the archbishop, who was the most prominent ecclesiastic of the time.¹

Wulfstan's last public act before the Conquest was his visit to the region north of the Humber in order to induce the turbulent northerners to accept Harold as king, but he was among the first to submit to the Conqueror after the battle of Hastings. He was looked upon favourably by William I, and before the year 1067 was out received from him two hides of land at Cookley for his own use and that of his *familia*.² In subsequent times he proved his loyalty to both William I and William II by assisting in the suppression of the baronial revolts of 1075³ and 1088⁴ by which the city and monastery of Worcester were threatened. During the latter crisis the custody of the royal castle at Worcester was committed to Wulfstan, probably in the absence of the sheriff. The bishop and the sheriff were the two chief officials in the shire and in dignity the former took precedence. Writs of William I directed to Wulfstan and the sheriffs of the three shires within his diocese are known.⁵ Upon at least one occasion Wulfstan acted

jurisdiction of the archbishops of York in Gloucestershire" (Hamilton Thompson, *Jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York in Gloucestershire*, in the "Trans. of the Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.," Vol. XLIII, p. 87). Mr. Hamilton Thompson further suggests that *Lessedune*, *Scpsetune*, and *Hagepine* may represent three of the villages, but none of them appears among the lost estates mentioned by Hemming, nor does the bishop of Worcester seem to have had any claim to them. The *Heamtune* to which the monks laid claim is not the *Hagepine* of Domesday but *Hantone* (Hampnett in Bradley Hundred) which Roger de Ivri held in 1086, for this village had been purchased for them by Ealdred (Hemming, p. 398) and was seized by Roger while Wulfstan was visiting the diocese of Lichfield (*Ibid.*, p. 281). Since the twelve villages were recovered some time before 1086, it is unlikely that the Domesday record will assist in the identification of them. It may be suggested, however, that Bradley which the archbishop leased to his reeve T.R.E. (V.C.H., *Worc.*, I, p. 290b), and Cutsdean to which the archbishop proved his right in the time of king William (*Ibid.*, p. 291b), were among them. Another may have been Alveston over which Ealdred had rights in 1066 (V.C.H., *War.*, I, p. 302b). These three villages had been recovered by Wulfstan in 1086.

¹ His famous curse, "Hattest þu Urs, haue þu Godes kurs," pronounced against Urse the sheriff who built his castle "pene faucibus monachorum," is preserved in the *Gesta Pontificum* (Hamilton, p. 253).

² See Appendix, no. 4.

³ *Flor. Wig.* (Thorpe), II, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26. *Saxon Chron.* (Plummer), I, p. 223.

⁵ Davis, *Regesta*, nos. 106, 186, 282 (Worcestershire); 9, 186 (Gloucestershire); 104, 186 (Warwickshire).

as judge in conjunction with Æthelwig of Evesham and Regenbald the Chancellor, but it is likely that this was before 1066.¹ He attended the royal court regularly, as is shown by his attestation of a number of royal charters and by several references to his journeys thither in the *Vita*. The author's description of the crown-wearings three times a year is of historical importance.² Even as late as January 27, 1091, when he was over 80 years old, Wulfstan is found witnessing a royal charter at Dover.³ These activities and the performance of the customary duty of presiding with the sheriff over the shire court constitute the secular side of the bishop's life. His position in ecclesiastical affairs is of greater importance.

It was not until 1070 that the political subjugation of the country had advanced far enough to allow the Conqueror to devote his attention to ecclesiastical affairs. In that year a legatine mission composed of the cardinal priests John and Peter, and Ermenfrid, bishop of Sion, was sent to England. The first legatine council was held at Easter, 1070, and the letter of the two cardinals to Wulfstan summoning him and the abbots of his diocese to be in attendance at Winchester on the third day after Easter (April 7) has been preserved in an eleventh-century transcript.⁴ At this council archbishop Stigand was deposed and thus both metropolitan sees were vacant. According to the Chronicle of Florence, it was in this council that Wulfstan began his attempt to recover the lands retained by Ealdred, but the hearing was postponed until the see of York should have an archbishop to speak for it.⁵ It is however improbable that the claim would come within the cognizance of this assembly, and the *Vita* implies that it was not until after Thomas' appointment (May 23, 1070) that Wulfstan claimed the lands. The dispute between Wulfstan and Thomas was complicated by the archbishop's contention that not only the lands in question but also the *dominatus* of the diocese of Worcester belonged to him by right of succession.

The exact nature of Thomas' claim is difficult to determine, but he was clearly relying on the precedent established by the previous union of the two sees and probably knew that Ealdred had retained

¹ Davis, *Regesta*, no. 213.

² *Vita*, II, c. 8; II, c. 12; III, c. 4. For the description of the assembly see II, c. 12.

³ Davis, *Regesta*, no. 315.

⁴ See Appendix, no. 6.

⁵ *Flor. Wig.* (Thorpe), II, pp. 5, 6. Archbishop Ealdred died September 11, 1069 (*Ibid.*, p. 3).

influence over Worcester. The new archbishop certainly regarded that see as part of the province of York, and there is some reason for believing that he hoped to rule it directly by ousting Wulfstan. Such a proceeding would have undone the work of Pope Nicholas, but the poverty of the see of York was notorious. The claim, however interpreted, at once involved Lanfranc in the quarrel, and according to the *Vita* the question was again raised in the presence of the two archbishops before Pope Alexander at Rome. The Pope threw the burden of a decision upon a council in England which was duly held. In this hearing Thomas was supported by Odo of Bayeux, and almost all the magnates, while Lanfranc alone stood by Wulfstan. Finally, however, it was decreed that the bishop of Worcester ought to be subject to the archbishop of Canterbury, and that the archbishop of York had no claims upon the see. Further, the twelve manors retained by Ealdred were restored to Wulfstan and, the narrative concludes, "in this same council at the Parret" the visitation of the diocese of Chester was committed to Wulfstan by Lanfranc.

This account requires some elucidation, for these events are part of the wider issue between the two archbishops regarding the boundaries of their respective provinces. The visit of Lanfranc and Thomas to Rome took place in the second year of Lanfranc's primacy, and Thomas there claimed as part of his province the sees of Lichfield and Dorchester, as well as that of Worcester.¹ The whole question, referred by the Pope to an English council,² was heard first in the royal chapel of the castle at Winchester and afterwards at Windsor where a settlement was reached and embodied in the famous concord signed by the ecclesiastics present.³ By this it was decreed that the archbishop of York's jurisdiction did not extend south of the Humber, and Thomas thereby abandoned his claims to the three southern dioceses. With one of the sessions of the council of 1072 must be identified, therefore, the assembly mentioned in the *Vita* wherein Wulfstan secured a favourable decision.⁴ It remains to discover what took place at the council at the Parret.

¹ Latin Acts of Lanfranc (Plummer, *Saxon Chron.*, I, p. 288).

² *Ibid.*, and *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 40, 41.

³ *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs, pp. 349-352). For facsimile see F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, p. 448.

⁴ The story of Wulfstan's reliance upon divine aid, derived from Coleman, is inserted by William of Malmesbury in his account of the settlement reached at Windsor in the *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs, p. 354).

This council is usually ranked as the third of the great ecclesiastical synods of the period. It was presumably held at either North Petherton or South Petherton, both royal manors on the river Parret in Somerset. This would be an unusual place to hold a national synod and the choice of such a meeting-place suggests that the assembly was more probably a meeting of the *Commune Concilium*. That body would be most competent to deal with the dispute between Wulfstan and Thomas regarding the twelve villages. Though the language of the *Vita* seems to suggest that the final decision was given in this assembly, it is more reasonable to identify the "council" at the Parret with the meeting which preceded the visit of the two archbishops to Rome. It would seem that no final decision was reached at the Parret regarding the two main issues, but the visitation of the diocese of Lichfield was committed to Wulfstan in this assembly by Lanfranc. The reconstruction of the order of events suggested here is borne out by a passage in Hemming's Chartulary, where it is stated that while Wulfstan was at Chester "in legatione regis," by which is meant presumably the visitation of the diocese, one of his Gloucestershire manors was seized by a Norman baron against whom the bishop was unable to take action because the dispute between him and Thomas "de episcopatu" was in progress.¹ The grant of the

¹ Hemming (Ed. Hearne), p. 281. It is probable that the king and Lanfranc agreed that the see of Lichfield should be committed to Wulfstan, for it was desirable to the former that this region, hardly yet subdued, should be brought under the influence of a native prelate who had accepted the Norman rule. To Lanfranc the arrangement was acceptable because the see of Lichfield was vacant and by entrusting it to Wulfstan he avoided the necessity of creating a new bishop until he had decided with the help of Pope Alexander what should be done with regard to the former bishop (Leofwine), who had resigned his see to the king before Lanfranc's arrival rather than answer the charges brought against him by the legates. Lanfranc had not ventured to appoint a successor when he wrote to the Pope, probably in the year of his arrival in England (Giles, *Opera Lanfranci*, I, p. 21), and Peter the new bishop was not consecrated until the third year of Lanfranc's tenure of office (Latin Acts, 3rd year), i.e. after August 1072. So long as the Conqueror's writ addressed to Peter, bishop of "Chester," and Earl William FitzOsbern, who was killed in February, 1071, is regarded as genuine, it is necessary to assume that a long interval separated the election and consecration of Peter. However, for reasons set forth by Mr. Tait in his essay "An Alleged Charter of William the Conqueror" (*Essays Presented to R. L. Poole*, p. 151), the charter must be regarded as a forgery. It was during the vacancy between 1070 and 1072 that the administration of the diocese was entrusted to Wulfstan. The story of Wulfstan's prophecy regarding the church of

administration of this diocese to Wulfstan cannot therefore have been, as would appear from the *Vita*, a climax to the events which took place in 1072, and the phrase "for he who had come as if about to lose one bishopric, departing from the council, took away two" must apply not to the council of 1072 but to the meeting at the Parret where archbishop Thomas first laid claim to Wulfstan's diocese.¹

To complicate still further the history of this period of Wulfstan's life, later writers have introduced a legend which is found in no early authority and has no basis in fact. The story is none the less almost as popular among writers of to-day as it was among the hagiographers and chroniclers of the Middle Ages. The legend is that at a council at Westminster, in the presence of king William, who approved the course taken, archbishop Lanfranc called upon Wulfstan to surrender the ring and crozier on account of his simplicity and ignorance. Replying that he was conscious of his own unworthiness, Wulfstan submitted to the decision of the council and surrendered the staff, but not to Lanfranc, for, taking it to the tomb of St. Edward from whom he had received it, he appealed to the dead monarch, whereupon the stones of the sepulchre parted and admitted the end of the staff. The efforts of Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, ordered by Lanfranc to take up the crozier, were of no avail, and the miracle convinced the king and the primate of the merits of Wulfstan, whom they begged to resume what was rightly his. The story is not given in the *Vita* nor is it found in either the Chronicle of Florence or in the *Gesta Pontificum*, and it first appears in the Life of Edward the Confessor by Osbert de Clare² written in 1138. A slightly shorter version, based on Osbert's narrative, occurs in the Life of Edward the Confessor by Ailred, Abbot of

St. Peter at Shrewsbury (*Vit. Wulst.*, II, c. 3) relates that the bishop often passed through that city while traversing the diocese of Lichfield in which it lay.

¹ The narrative in the Chronicle of Florence (Thorpe, II, p. 8) follows that in the *Vita* in placing the recovery of the lands and the safeguarding of the liberties of the see (according to this author, by the production of written evidence to confute Thomas) in the so-called council at the Parret. William of Malmesbury's summary of the incident in the *Gesta Pontificum* is not helpful.

² Chapter xxix. Ed. Bloch, pp. 116-120. The author inserted long speeches purporting to have been made by Wulfstan and others. It is perhaps noteworthy that the earliest Life of Edward the Confessor, though written, there is good reason to believe, in the early twelfth century (Bloch, p. 17 *seq.*), does not contain the story.

Rievaulx, written c. 1163. Owing to the influence of this popular writer, the legend was widely disseminated and a shortened form of Ailred's version is found in the Abridgment of the *Vita Wulfstani* printed below.¹

There is no mention in the Latin Acts of Lanfranc of a council held by the primate at Westminster. His first council at London (which was not identical with Westminster at this date) was held in 1075,² but some years earlier, at the end of 1070 or early in 1071, he had committed to Wulfstan the see of Lichfield. After such an obvious recognition of Wulfstan's merits, it would have been difficult to remove him had there been any desire to do so. Nor was it possible to make such an attempt until the claims of archbishop Thomas had been refuted in 1072, and it is most unlikely that Lanfranc would wish to degrade a prelate whose cause he had supported throughout the dispute. Moreover, it is well known that the only English bishops (except Ethelwine of Durham whose offences were political) deposed during this period lost their offices before the arrival of Lanfranc in England, and neither the archbishop nor Pope Alexander was satisfied that the legate Ermenfrid had acted justly in depriving Ethelric of the bishopric of Selsey. Lanfranc was equally dissatisfied with the position at Lichfield where Leofwine had surrendered his see. Moreover, Wulfstan was in a sense a papal nominee and had been summoned to the first legatine council in most courteous language.³ Had the primate been in any doubt as to the fitness of Wulfstan for episcopal office it is unlikely that he would have sent him together with Peter, bishop of Chester, to assist archbishop Thomas at the consecration of Ralph, bishop of the Orkneys, in 1077.⁴ The charge of illiteracy said to have been brought against Wulfstan is difficult to credit in view of his close friendship with the learned Robert, bishop of Hereford, his responsibility for

¹ *Infra*, Bk. I, c. 12.

² The alleged deposition is placed in a council "at Westminster" in 1075 by Roger of Wendover (*sub. an.* 1095), but the author for the most part merely expands Florence. It should be noticed that Gundulf did not become bishop of Rochester until 1077. For the other writers who give the story of the deposition, see Freeman, Note II, Vol. IV, p. 819. Freeman regarded Ailred as the earliest authority for it.

³ It would seem from Lanfranc's letter that the charges against Leofwine were set out in the summons which he received from the legates.

⁴ Latin Acts (Plummer, p. 289). The letter to Wulfstan and Peter is preserved among the letters of Lanfranc (Giles, I, p. 35).

the compilation of Hemming's Chartulary, his command that the Chronicle of Marianus should be copied and enlarged in his monastery, and numerous incidental references scattered throughout the *Vita*. The legend of the intended deposition seems to have grown out of a passage in the *Gesta Pontificum* which represents Wulfstan as accused of want of learning at the time when he was attacked by archbishop Thomas.¹

The success of Wulfstan's episcopate is witnessed not merely by his employment by Lanfranc and the king,² but by his administration of the see, in which respect it is evident, both from the *Vita* and from documentary evidence, he was in no way below the level of efficiency reached by the best of his contemporaries. His diocese comprising Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and part of Warwickshire, was small in comparison with such a see as Lincoln, and his task was thereby simplified, particularly in respect to the important duty of episcopal visitation. The description in the *Vita* of Wulfstan's travels over the diocese, so arranged that a definite area was covered within a year without undue strain upon either the bishop himself or his retinue of clerks, is the fullest and clearest to be found in the literature relating to the Anglo-Norman period.³

In these journeys, Wulfstan was brought into close contact with the populace,⁴ and the illustrations of his efforts to raise the moral

¹ *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 284. No further details are given, and had the statement occurred in Coleman's work it could hardly have been omitted in both the *Vita* and the Chronicle of Florence. It seems therefore to be a gloss of William himself, who had already expressed the opinion that most of the English bishops at this time were illiterate (*Gest. Pont.*, p. 36). The abstract of Coleman's narrative upon which this paragraph of the *Gesta Pontificum* was based appears to have been compiled hastily, for it is said that after Wulfstan had won his case, the archbishop of York requested him to visit those parts of his diocese which, through fear of enemies or ignorance of the language, he had not approached himself. This seems to be a confusion with the grant of the custody of the diocese of Lichfield to Wulfstan by Lanfranc, an important incident otherwise omitted in the *Gesta Pontificum*. In this same passage lies the origin of the story that Wulfstan was ignorant of French (Roger of Wendover, *anno* 1095). If the legend did not arise out of such a misunderstanding but was a deliberate invention, motive is not lacking in the desire of the biographers of St. Edward to glorify their hero.

² The *Vita* (II, c. 21) also records that Wulfstan went to York at the command of the king to bless the chrism for archbishop Thomas. It is uncertain whether this journey is identical with that mentioned in Lanfranc's letters.

³ Cf. Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, I, p. 53.

⁴ At the visit of the bishop, which was preceded by the admonition of the

standards of his time throw some interesting light on the character of contemporary society. It is well known that he suppressed the slave trade carried on between England and Ireland,¹ but his many sermons urging the people to live at peace with one another are mentioned in the hitherto unprinted portion of the Life.² He also endeavoured, though without much success, to abolish the irreverent practice of riding through cemeteries. Throughout the diocese he effected reforms, and interpreted the edict of the Council of Winchester of 1076 with greater severity than was intended. By this enactment it was provided that though canons were to be separated from their wives, the position of parish priests who were already married was to be unaffected. Wulfstan, however, compelled the parish priests of his diocese to choose between their wives and their churches. Everywhere within his own estates he built churches³ and encouraged others to follow his example. References in the *Vita* to the construction of churches by laymen such as Ailsa of Longney on Severn,⁴ a thegn of Edward the Confessor, are among the most important extant examples of this phase of the reform of the English Church at this time. Wulfstan's reputation for sanctity and his peculiar position during the latter part of his life as the only surviving prelate of English birth led men from outside the diocese of Worcester to obtain special permission that he might consecrate the churches which they had built. Thus Swertlin of Wycombe obtained licence from Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, and Sewy of Ratcliffe-on-Soar secured permission for this end from Thomas, archbishop of York, both of which

archdeacon, crowds assembled to hear him preach and say mass and bestow upon children and others the rites of baptism and confirmation, the recipients of the latter sometimes numbering as many as two or three thousand and even more, according to the computation of Coleman. The candidates at Gloucester were sufficiently numerous to be lined up in ranks in the cemetery, and these arduous duties often occupied the bishop from sunrise to sunset.

¹ William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum* (Stubbs, p. 329) expresses uncertainty as to whether this reform was due to Wulfstan or to Lanfranc.

² The stories illustrate the lawlessness of the time, and there is one example of the survival of the blood feud—a man who committed homicide by accident was pursued by the victim's brothers who, refusing the wergild which was offered, would have killed the unhappy slayer but for the interposition of Wulfstan (Bk. II, c. 15). It is interesting to read of a wealthy priest who perished at the hands of his enemies after refusing to be reconciled with his neighbour (Bk. II, c. 22).

³ Bk. I, c. 14. Domesday Book shows that churches existed in most if not all the episcopal manors in 1086.

⁴ Bk. II, c. 17.

incidents are valuable as illustrations of the rights of a prelate within his own see.¹

In the organization of the diocese, the bishop's chief assistant was the archdeacon. Names of holders of this office in pre-Conquest times occur only in records relating to the diocese of Canterbury. It is true that in most dioceses the evidence in which archdeacons might be expected to occur is very scant. Though this is less true of the diocese of Worcester than of most sees, no archdeacon occurs among the witnesses to the charters of Oswald or other records in Hemming's Chartulary. It is uncertain whether the office was introduced into the diocese by Wulfstan,² but it is certainly in his episcopate that the archdeacon first attests charters. Wulfstan's one archdeacon, whose name Ailric shows that he was an Englishman, is among the earliest recorded archdeacons of the post-Conquest period.³ Very little may be gathered from the

¹ *Vita*, II, cc. 9, 21. Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, p. 584 (canons of the Council at Celchyth, 816, cap. xi), and Weaver, *John of Worcester*, p. 21 (10th canon of Synod of London, 1125).

² In the record of Wulfstan's synod at Worcester in 1092, a document which is beyond suspicion, we read that a certain number of responsible persons to whom was delegated the enquiry into the rights of the cathedral priory, reported to the bishop that Oswald had granted to the prior and his successors the right of being deans over their churches and priests so that no dean or archdeacon should interfere except by the leave of the prior, adding "of these things we are witness as we have learned from our predecessors and have seen them observed in our own times under your predecessor Aldred and yourself." From this it might be deduced that the archdeacon and rural deans were established under Ealdred and even in Oswald's time, but it is possible that the witnesses intended to assert the exclusion of the bishop's officials known in their own time but not necessarily at the date of which they speak by these names. The officer is mentioned in the Northumbrian Priests' Law which seems to belong to the archiepiscopate of Ealdred, and it may be significant that the manuscript was written at a time when there was a close connexion between York and Worcester. (Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, III, 220, 221.) There is reference to a dean of Evesham in both the Evesham Chronicle (Macray, p. 83), and in version "D" of the Saxon Chronicle (Plummer, I, p. 160), but it cannot be said whether he was a monastic dean or a rural dean (as is stated by the author of the Evesham Chronicle) until the *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham* has been subjected to a critical analysis.

³ The first reference to Ailric occurs in Domesday Book, where he is recorded as holding of the bishop 1 hide at Bradley in the manor of Fladbury, 2 hides in Cutsdean, an outlying part of Bredon, and 1 hide at Huddington in the manor of Northwick (V.C.H., *Worc.*, I, 290b, 291b, 294b). In the writ of William Rufus concerning the "relief" exacted from the tenants of the see, the archdeacon is directed to pay 100s. (*Hemming*, p. 79). At one of his estates Ailric built a church which Wulfstan consecrated, and since he had a

Vita or from any other source regarding the duties of the archdeacon at this date except that he prepared the way for the bishop in the visitation of the diocese.¹

In his administrative work the bishop was also assisted by his household. This comprised the clerks who were usually in attendance upon him when he was travelling. At the head of them was the chancellor, which office was held, at least as late as 1089, by Coleman the monk, who afterwards wrote the life of the bishop. In Wulfstan's charter relating to Alveston the chancellor attests next after the prior and archdeacon, and after him come "Fritheric² his chaplain with all the clerks of the bishop." To this body also belonged, apparently, the witnesses described merely as priests.³ The non-clerical part of the household appears among the attestations to the Alveston charter in the group "Ordric the steward with all the *curia* of the bishop" and "Alwin similarly steward of the bishop," and included such officers as constables and chamberlains.⁴ Among

priest at Cutsdean in 1086 it is possible that the miracle recorded in the *Vita* should be placed in that village. Ailric witnessed the agreement between Wulfstan and the abbot of Evesham in 1086 and attests all three of the known charters of Wulfstan. His name appears next after the prior in those relating to Alveston and Westbury, and in the former he takes precedence of Coleman the bishop's chancellor. In the Tappenhall charter, to which the names of neither prior Thomas nor Coleman are appended, he heads the list of witnesses, and he and his brother Edwine were among those to whom was committed the enquiry made in the synod of 1092. It is probable that he died during the episcopate of Sampson and was succeeded by Hugh. Either at the death of Ailric or soon after, during the episcopate of either Sampson or Theulf, the diocese of Worcester was divided into two archdeaconries. Cf. a similar development in the diocese of Wells (Armitage Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays*, p. 73 *seq.*).

¹ The ancient record of St. Osmund's system at Salisbury merely states "Archidiaconū in sollicitudine parochiarum et in cura pollut animarum." Register of St. Osmund (Ed. Rich Jones, Rolls Series, I, p. 214).

² This Fritheric also attests the Tappenhall and Westbury charters and was present at the synod of 1092. To him was committed by the monks for the term of his life the church of St. Helen with all its appurtenances which belonged to their demesne support. This grant was made after the death of Wulfstan, and at the request of bishop Sampson the monks also gave Fritheric the land upon which he had built his house (Hemming, p. 427). The only other clerks whose names have been preserved are Frewin (Westbury charter; *Vit. Wulst.*, Bk. II, c. 13, c. 20; Bk. III, c. 4), and Maurice (Westbury charter). For Maurice see also Robinson—*Gilbert Crispin*, p. 31.

³ E.g. Alfwin (Westbury charter), and Ægelmer (present at the synod of 1092).

⁴ Alric the chamberlain witnesses the Westbury charter (1093), and Godric pirl, described as chamberlain, was present at the synod of 1092. Another witness of the Westbury charter was Alstan the constable.

the witnesses to the same charter are "Urse the sheriff with all the knights of his shrievalty." Upon at least one occasion, in 1085, the bishop's knights were actually in residence at Wulfstan's "court" and lived with the rest of the household.¹ The drunken brawls of the knights made the continuance of the practice undesirable after the political situation demanding the measure had passed away. There were also attached to the household a number of youths, sons of rich men, who were committed to the bishop, sometimes at a very early age, to acquire culture and training.² Another interesting member was Alfwin son of Brihtmar, a dispossessed Englishman.

Late in his episcopate, when he knew that death was approaching, Wulfstan held a synod at Worcester to see that everything was in order in the diocese. The assembly was presided over by the aged bishop in the crypt of the new church which he had built, and to it were invited "all the wisest of the three shires of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, and Warwickshire." The record of this meeting seems to be unique, for there are singularly few references to diocesan synods at this date and no other document embodying the decisions of such an assembly is as yet known. The preservation of the record in the archives of the monks was no doubt due to the settlement therein of the dispute between Alfnoth and Alan, the priests of the churches of St. Helen and St. Alban, for it was decreed that the priory church (St. Mary's) was the parish church of Worcester and that St. Helen's was dependent upon it. It would be unwise to assume that this was the only synod held in the diocese of Worcester during the episcopate of Wulfstan, nor could it be maintained that the scant references to synods in the dioceses ruled by Norman prelates indicate that the assemblies were rare.

During the rule of Wulfstan there was a considerable extension of monasticism within the diocese. Worcester was one of those sees, characteristic of England, where the cathedral was served by monks instead of canons. Throughout Wulfstan's episcopate the relations between the bishop and the monks were of a most intimate character.³ Friction between the bishop and

¹ *Vit. Wulst.*, Bk. III, c. 16. Compare Abingdon Chronicle (Ed. Stevenson, II, p. 3).

² *Ibid.*, Bk. III, c. 8.

³ Wulfstan regarded himself as a member of the monastic community when he was residing at Worcester and therefore under the obligation to perform

monks such as characterizes the history of the thirteenth century was unknown at this date and the prior was the nominee of the bishop. On his elevation to the bishopric, Wulfstan appointed as his successor his own brother Ælfstan.¹ Thomas became prior after Ælfstan, and the expression "qui prioratum post Alfstanum optinuit," used of him, seems to indicate that there was no other holder of the office between the two.² Thomas, who administered sacred unction to Wulfstan when dying, held his office until his death in 1113.³ The office of sub-prior is known to have been held by Hemming,⁴ the compiler of the Chartulary. The only sacristan of Wulfstan's time of whom we have record is Ælfhere,

in his turn the weekly duties of the monk known as the hebdomadarian (see *Const. of Lanfranc*, c. xiii, Giles, I, p. 160), but also seems to have superseded the prior as head of the convent. It was he who punished with the rod the monks who came late to matins, and he is described as reciting the customary offices with the monk appointed to be on watch in the dormitory throughout the night. It was, moreover, his wont to withdraw from worldly occupations from midnight on Saturday until Monday morning. During this time he took part in the services of the monks and dined with them. Normally, however, he seems to have taken his meagre fare with his household, surrounded by his knights.

¹ Hemming (Hearne, p. 407). Alfstan acquired for the monks Lench, Dunhamstead and Peachley in Worcestershire. Wulfstan himself as prior, his predecessor Æthelwine and also Ælfstan are called "deans" of the priory, and the *Vita* records that the old name of the prior was "prepositus." The terms are used in a similar sense in the records of other monasteries and only an examination of all the references would justify the expression of an opinion as to the origin and significance of the titles as used at Worcester. On the monastic provost see Plummer, *Bede*, I, pp. xxviii, xxix.

² Wharton, on the strength of the following passage in Eadmer's *Life of Dunstan* (*Mem. Dunst.*, pp. 163, 164), where he mentions those who supplied him with information, inserted another prior in the list (*Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 547): "Hortm unum Ægelredum scilicet qui supprioris et cantoris officium in ecclesia Cantuariensi strenuissime per multum temporis administrabat, quique postmodum ob religiosam prudentiam et prudentem religiositatem suam Wigornensi ecclesie sub beate memorie Wulstano episcopo prelati erat, et multis qui adhuc supersunt. . . ." The suggestion that this Ægelred was Ailric the archdeacon may be ruled out, and it seems likely that the reference is to Nicholas, an Englishman brought up in the household of Wulfstan and by him sent to be trained under archbishop Lanfranc at Canterbury. Nicholas became prior under bishop Theulf and died in 1124. The exact meaning of "prelatus" in the above passage is not certain, and if it is intended to signify prior it may be that Eadmer is in error. A letter from Nicholas to Eadmer concerning the mother of Edward the Martyr is printed by Stubbs, *Mem. Dunst.*, p. 422 (no. xxxvi).

³ *Flor. Wig.* (Thorpe, II, p. 66).

⁴ *Vit. Wulst.*, I, c. i.

who was present at the synod of 1092. Uhtred, who was also at that assembly and died in 1132, was made precentor by Wulfstan¹ and his predecessors are unknown. The names of a few of the inmates of the priory occur in the *Vita*, and though the list of the inmates which no doubt once stood at the end of Wulfstan's bond of association with seven religious houses is now lost, a number of Worcester monks of the time of Wulfstan and his immediate successor occur in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.² The obits of some of the monks occur in a calendar which there is good reason to believe was Wulfstan's own.³ The proportion of monks who were of English birth, though less marked than the English element in the episcopal household, is significant, and even names such as Nicholas are known to have been borne by Englishmen trained from early youth at the bishop's *curia*. Like the fact that Coleman wrote in the vernacular, the English character of both household and monks is evidence of the conservatism which prevailed at Worcester during Wulfstan's rule.

Wulfstan himself raised the number of the monks to about fifty and gave them 15 hides at Alveston in Warwickshire in 1089 and in the same year the mill at Tappenhall.⁴ Towards the end of his life he caused the church which St. Oswald had built to be pulled down to make way for a new and greater structure. This church was begun in 1084⁵ and completed in 1088 or 1089,⁶ and the surviving Norman crypt at Worcester is generally believed to be that mentioned in the record of the synod of 1092.

Wulfstan also rebuilt the priory at Westbury-on-Trym in Gloucestershire which St. Oswald had first founded. It had fallen into ruin owing to the Danish wars, so that there remained but one priest, who seldom said Mass. After repairing its walls and roofs, and endowing it with ornaments and lands, Wulfstan, in 1093,

¹ Weaver, *John of Worcester*, p. 36.

² The list from the Durham book is given in Appendix III to *Early Worcester Manuscripts* (C. H. Turner), p. lii.

³ This calendar is in MS. Hattori 113 in the Bodleian Library. It was believed to be of Evesham origin by Mr. Edmund Bishop (*Bosworth Psalter*, p. 161), but Mr. H. M. Bannister (*Early Worc. MSS.*, Appendix IV, p. lx) has shown that it is undoubtedly of Worcester origin and was probably the personal property of Wulfstan, since it contains the obits of his mother, father and brother.

⁴ *Hemming* (Ed. Hearne), p. 424. The short Life in Hemming (Hearne, p. 407) gives a fuller list of grants to Prior Thomas, including Mytton, Alston, the two Lindridges, Penhill and Grimley.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 373.

⁶ Alveston charter (*Hemming*, Ed. Hearne, p. 418).

made it a daughter house of the cathedral priory of Worcester and established there a community of monks with Coleman, afterwards his biographer, as prior. His work was undone by his successor Sampson, a canon of Bayeux, who disbanded the community, and Coleman then returned to Worcester.¹ Wulfstan's relations with the other religious houses within his diocese were on the whole friendly, for such discord as occurred was not the outcome of any desire on the part of the abbots to secure independence of their diocesan, but due to conflicting claims to land. About 1077 he formed a bond of association with the heads of seven religious houses, Alfstan, dean (i.e. prior) of Worcester, Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham, Serlo, abbot of Gloucester, Edmund, abbot of Pershore, and Ralf, abbot of Winchcombe, within his own diocese, together with Æthelsige, abbot of Bath, and Wulfwold, abbot of Chertsey, by which all agreed to observe the rule of St. Benedict, to be loyal to the king and queen, and to perform reciprocally certain religious observances for the mutual benefit of themselves and the inmates of their houses.² A similar confraternity was made between Bishop Wulfstan, prior Thomas, and the brothers of Worcester, and abbot Ethelwine and the monks of Ramsey, the great Fenland house which, like Worcester priory, owed so much to St. Oswald.³

With Serlo of Gloucester, whose rule brought prosperity to the monastery which Ealdred had re-founded in 1058, Wulfstan was on terms of close friendship, and the abbot visited the bishop on his death-bed. Between Wulfstan and the abbots of Evesham relations were somewhat strained. Abbot Æthelwig was certainly the most outstanding political figure in these parts until his death in 1077, and he overshadowed Wulfstan much as Ealdred had in the earlier period. The government of the great Mercian region comprising Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire was entrusted to him by the Conqueror "ita ut omnium hujus patriae consilia atque judicia fere in eo penderent."⁴ It was the paramount position of Æthelwig

¹ *Hemming*, pp. 421-4 (Westbury charter); *Vit. Wulst.*, III, c. 10; *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 290.

² Printed (Old English with translation) by Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 615. Concerning such associations see Rock, *Church of Our Fathers*, II, 306; Birch, *New Minster and Hyde* (Hampshire Record Society), p. 47; *Archæologia*, Vol. LXXV, pp. 19 *seq.*

³ See Appendix, nos. 11 and 12.
⁴ Evesham Chronicle (Ed. Macray), p. 89. The thirteenth-century compiler of this chronicle has incorporated a certain amount of early material including a contemporary record of Æthelwig's abbacy.

rather than any disinclination on Wulfstan's part to engage in secular affairs that caused a number of estates of the monks of Worcester, according to their own story, to fall into the hands of the rival house.¹ Yet the bishop bore no grudge against his old antagonist, for when Æthelwig died he offered up prayers for his soul, though according to the monks of Worcester, he was punished by being afflicted with the gout of which the abbot had died.²

During Wulfstan's episcopate, monastic life was established at Tewkesbury, whither monks were transferred from Cranbourne,³ and the prior Gerald was among those who visited Wulfstan when he was dying. The success of Aldwin, who had been made a monk by Wulfstan,⁴ in his attempt to found a monastery at Great Malvern was largely due to the bishop's encouragement. The early history of this priory is far from clear, but is probable that a genuine tradition is preserved in the account in the thirteenth-century register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard⁵ where it is stated that the site was granted to Aldwin by the "earl of Gloucester," Hudde, clearly to be identified with earl Æthelwine or Odda, who died in 1056.⁶ Possibly Aldwin afterwards received the support of Edward the Confessor, to whom the estates of the earl escheated upon his death. In the *Vita*⁷ it is said that Aldwin, finding his efforts fruitless, decided to go to Jerusalem, but first consulted Wulfstan, who foretold the future greatness of the monastery. If the entry in the Annals of Worcester⁸ that Great Malvern was founded by Aldwin in 1085 is not mere conjecture, it must refer to the re-foundation which was the outcome of this prophecy. By 1117, the priory had become a daughter house of Westminster Abbey⁹ and it is possible that the connexion was in some way the outcome of the fact that Westminster had been endowed largely with the lands which had once belonged to earl Odda,¹⁰ including the large manor

¹ The chief struggle between Wulfstan and Æthelwig's successor Walter was over Bengeworth and Hampton. In the end a compromise was arranged by which the abbot acknowledged the lands to be part of the bishop's hundred of Oswaldslaw while Wulfstan waived his claim to restore them to his demesne.

² Hemming (Ed. Hearne), p. 272.

³ According to the chronicle in MS. Cot. Vit. C. viii, fo. 17, the change was made through the instrumentality of Wulfstan.

⁴ *Gest. Pont.*, p. 285.

⁵ Printed (Latin) *Monasticon*, III, p. 440.

⁶ *Flor. Wig.*, I, p. 215.

⁷ *Vit. Wulst.*, II, c. 2.

⁸ *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 373.

⁹ Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, p. 33; *Monasticon*, III, p. 448.

¹⁰ V.C.H., *Worc*, I, p. 259.

of Longdon near Malvern, and was therefore in a sense the heir of the original founder. It is unlikely that Urse d'Abitot had any share in the foundation,¹ for he does not appear to have had any land at Malvern. The place is only mentioned in Domesday as an appurtenance of the episcopal manor of Ripple.²

The episcopate of Wulfstan was a critical period in the history of the temporalities of the see. As chief landowner in the shire the bishop was involved in considerable litigation and it is evident from Hemming's Chartulary and the Domesday Survey that the bishop and monks sustained considerable losses as a result of the Norman Conquest. It is now well known that knight-service was established in the episcopal lands under Wulfstan, and it is evident from the bishop of Worcester's return among the *Carte* of 1166³ that at least 37½ knight's fees were created by Wulfstan. Within the limits of this introduction it is impossible to discuss the history of the property of the bishop and monks at this date. The most lasting memorial of the efficient administration of Wulfstan in secular affairs is the chartulary which Hemming the sub-prior drew up at his command. As regards antiquity and reputation, Hemming's word is unequalled except by the *Textus Roffensis*. In a passage which was intended to come at or near the end of his work, though it is now displaced, Hemming has described how the chartulary was compiled. He relates that Wulfstan caused the chest of the monastery to be brought to him and himself examined all the contents, endeavouring to repair decaying records and recover those which were lost. He then caused all the records to be copied into one volume, which was to be divided into four books. The privileges and charters relating to the lands of the bishop were copied into two books, the first containing foundation charters and the second the deeds of Oswald. The documents relating to the lands of the monks were likewise to be copied into two books. Hemming adds that the reader will observe that he has done his best to follow these injunctions.⁴

¹ The story is told in a Plea Roll of the time of Edward II (*Monast.*, III, p. 447) that the priory was founded by Urse d'Abitot, with whose consent the abbot of Westminster planted there a prior and monks.

² V.C.H., *Worc.*, I, p. 292.

³ *Red Book of the Exchequer*, Ed. Hall, I, p. 300.

⁴ Hemming (Ed. Hearne), pp. 282-286. As Hearne observed, the leaves of the MS. (Cott. Tib., A. xiii) are misplaced owing to the binder, and since Hearne's copy was made the book has suffered by fire. Though a detailed discussion of the problem of the original form of the chartulary cannot be attempted

The compilation of Hemming's Chartulary and the synod of 1092 may be regarded as the last efforts of Wulfstan to set in order the temporal and spiritual affairs of his diocese. His health had begun to fail by 1093, and for some time before his death he was confined to his bed. The end came in the night of Saturday, January 20, 1095, in "about the eighty-seventh" year of his age and the thirty-third of his episcopate.¹ During the vacancy in the see after the death of Wulfstan, William Rufus, probably at the instance of Ranulf Flambard, extorted from the tenants of the bishopric the payment of a "relief" which could not be exacted from the new bishop himself.² Wulfstan's immediate successor was Sampson, a canon of Bayeux, who according to a passage in the first recension of the *Gesta Pontificum*, was an enormous eater.³ The chief offence of this prelate was the disbandment of the monastery at Westbury.

here, the following outline may be suggested tentatively to illustrate the truth of Hemming's statements (the page references are to Hearne). Book I. Charters relating to bishop's estates—pp. 1-49, 50-58, 59-72, 218-231, 84-121. Book II. Charters of Oswald—p. 121 (without an opening rubric) to p. 247 (excluding pp. 218-231). Book III. Charters relating to monks' estates—pp. 369-392, and pp. 319-363. Book IV. History of the monks' estates after the time of Oswald—pp. 248-286 (with supplement pp. 395-426). A fifth book begins on p. 426 and was probably intended as an appendix to the original four books since it contains documents relating to the times after Wulfstan's death: only the first charter is in the original hand. Hemming probably wrote his part before 1100, since the list of kings (pp. 369-70) is written in the original hand to William II, but the number of years he reigned is filled in by a later continuator of the list.

¹ The exact date of Wulfstan's death is a little obscure, for the scribe to whom we owe our only copy of the unabridged *Vita* has given it in a form which could not have come from William of Malmesbury. The event is placed "paulo post mediam noctem sabbati," 14 kal. Feb. (January 19), 1087, in the "tenth year of the reign of William II," 34 years 4 months and 13 days after he had received the bishopric. In the Chronicle of Florence Wulfstan's death is placed about the middle of the seventh hour on Saturday, January 18, 1095. The earliest authority, the brief Life in Hemming's Chartulary, merely states that Wulfstan held the see for 32 years 4 months and 3 weeks, which, reckoning four weeks to the month, fixes the date of his decease on January 19, 1095. It is significant that both the *Vita* and the Chronicle of Florence place the death of Wulfstan on Saturday night, for neither the 19th nor the 18th of the month in 1095 was a Saturday, and Wulfstan must therefore have died on January 20. It may be added that in a calendar (Bodl. Hatton 113) which at one time belonged to the bishop himself, his death is inserted in an eleventh-century hand on the day of Saints Fabian and Sebastian, January 20. The difference of one day does not materially affect Hemming's calculation.

² Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 308-314.

³ *Gest. Pont.*, p. 289, note 3.

Next to Oswald, Wulfstan was by far the most outstanding bishop of Worcester in the medieval period. His position among contemporaries was unique after 1075, for from that date he was the only surviving prelate of English birth.¹ Eadmer described him as "unus et solus de antiquis Anglorum patribus, vir in omni religione conspicuus et antiquarum Angliae consuetudinum scientia apprime imbutus," and has preserved a copy of the letter which Wulfstan directed to Anselm in answer to the archbishop's enquiry regarding a point of Old English ecclesiastical law.²

In the third book of the *Vita* the private life of Wulfstan is described at great length, and the whole presents a picture of eleventh-century religious life at its best. It is not to be expected, however, that Wulfstan would be a candle in the darkness at a time when the metropolitan see of Canterbury was held by one of the foremost scholars and administrators of the day, and when nearly every bishopric was occupied by an ecclesiastic trained in accordance with the standards of continental reformers. The reforming movement, though it had penetrated far into such regions as Normandy and Lorraine, had been felt in England only through the efforts of a small group of foreign ecclesiastics introduced into England in the reign of Edward the Confessor. The appointment of Wulfstan to the see of Worcester was itself an indirect outcome of the reform of the papacy, and although he was an Englishman by training and probably never went beyond his native shores during his life, he was inspired by the example of his great predecessor, Oswald, and his own high ideals, to establish in his monastery a stricter observance of a rule of life such as Leofric's foreign training led him to demand from his canons at Exeter.

Wulfstan's own early attempts to restore order in his diocese and the comparative immunity of Worcester from the ravages of war and rebellion rendered his task in the post-Conquest period somewhat less difficult than that of some of his contemporaries. Arch-

¹ Siward of Rochester died in 1075. Stigand, bishop of Selsey, was apparently not an Englishman; the name was common in both Normandy and England.

² Eadmer (Ed. Rule), pp. 45, 46. Wulfstan was asked to inform the archbishop whether the metropolitan might consecrate churches situated in his lands outside his own diocese, for the bishop of London had disputed his claim to do so. Wulfstan replied that there were in the diocese of Worcester altars and churches in lands once the private property of archbishop Stigand, which the archbishop had consecrated without consulting the bishop of Worcester.

bishop Ealdred had effected some far-reaching reforms at York,¹ but owing to political events, when archbishop Thomas took possession he found the church and city in ruins and the canons dispersed.² Before long he had restored order and set up the usual offices, including those of dean, treasurer and precentor. Giso at Wells, though preceded by a foreign prelate, Dudoc, who had acquired lands and ornaments for his church,³ found upon his accession a meagre church served by four or five clerks with no refectory or dormitory, and he proceeded to effect improvements. Throughout the country the inmates of religious houses were increased and monasticism took a firmer root than ever before. The Anglo-Norman period was a time of great reforming activity among the secular clergy as well as the regulars, but the career of Wulfstan, taken in conjunction with certain other relevant material, suggests that the shortcomings of the age which preceded it were less universal than is usually supposed. Be that as it may, it is a tribute to Wulfstan that in an age of brilliant ecclesiastics (among them St. Osmund of liturgical fame) he, a conservative representative of the old school, was in no way inferior to the best of his contemporaries in the performance of the duties attaching to his office.

III

The collection of the miracles of St. Wulfstan and the narratives of the canonization and translation of the saint, here printed for the first time from the MS. B. iv, 39b in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, are of considerable interest not only for the legendary history of Wulfstan, but as illustrations of the social and religious life of the early thirteenth century. The collection in its present form is not earlier than 1235,⁴ and may be dated roughly c. 1240, but though the manuscript is written apparently in two hands, the compilation is obviously the work of several authors. Internal evidence shows that cures or reported cures effected through the agency of St. Wulfstan, either at Worcester or elsewhere, were often inquired into by some responsible person and the statements of credible witnesses, given on oath, were set down in writing.⁵

¹ Folcard (Raine, *Historians of York*, I, pp. 240-242), The Northumbrian Priests' Law may also be regarded as evidence of Ealdred's reforms.

² Raine, *Hist. of York*, II, p. 108.

³ Hunter, *See of Wells* (C.S.), pp. 15-20.

⁴ Book II, c. 10, p. 154 *infra* (reference to the pirate de Mareis).

⁵ The archdeacon of Gloucester was deputed to make such an enquiry

The book before us seems to have been formed by grouping as successive chapters a number of such records and providing them, when divided into two books, with suitable prologues.¹ The prologue of the first book was undertaken at the command of some superior authority who went to Rome to secure the canonization of Wulfstan and who may be identified with bishop Mauger. The author may be Prior Senatus, who lived until 1207,² but he cannot have written the whole of the first book, for at least one miracle therein took place as late as 1212.³ The arrangement of the miracles is not chronological in either book, and the bull of canonization, belonging to 1203, is placed in the second book. The record of the Translation of St. Wulfstan in 1218 is probably contemporary with the event, and the absence of any formal ending to the work, which terminates with a number of miracles, suggests that the author would have added more had he been in a position to do so.

The legendary history of Wulfstan begins early. The miraculous element occupied a large place in the biography by Coleman, as in most saints' lives, and later chroniclers embellished the Saxon Chronicle's simple narrative of the rebellion of 1088. William of Malmesbury, in the *Gesta Pontificum*,⁴ records the miraculous preservation of the tomb of Wulfstan, presumably at the fire of 1113.⁵ A second marvellous escape of the tomb in the fourth decade of the twelfth century is recorded in the Abridgment of the *Vita*. The Abridgment also relates a number of miraculous cures wrought at the tomb about the same time, and John of Worcester recorded a miracle which took place at the sepulchre in 1130 in connexion with a case of ordeal.⁶ After the abortive attempt to secure the canonization of Wulfstan during the pontificate of Eugenius III, nothing is heard about him until the opening of the tomb during the short episcopate of John of Coutances. To this event there is a brief reference in the Annals of Worcester,⁷ but full particulars are given in the Translation printed below. Bishop John was acting in accordance with the behest of Wulfstan, who appeared to many persons, commanding that his body should be translated to a shrine.

and exacted an oath from the witnesses on the high altar on sacred relics and in the presence of all the people (II, c. 21). See also II, c. 12 and c. 15.

¹ This hypothesis is supported by the appearance of the same miracle twice over (once in each book) in precisely the same language (I, c. 29 and II, c. 20). Some of the chapters end with "amen" and read like sermons.

² *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 395.

⁴ *Gest. Pont.*, pp. 288-9.

⁶ Weaver, p. 30.

³ Bk. I, c. 43.

⁵ *Flor. Wig.* (Thorpe), II, p. 66.

⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 392.

The procedure adopted, however, was deemed by many unseemly, for without papal sanction and without due solemnity the tomb was opened on the night of September 6, 1198, in the presence of the monks, all secular persons being excluded. The contents of the tomb are described.¹

Early in the episcopate of his successor Mauger, in January 1201, a number of miracles took place,² and the bishop consulted the chapter as to the advisability of procuring the canonization of Wulfstan. His first step was to replace the body in the tomb³ and to approach the pope. A mission was sent to Pope Innocent III, who ordered the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and the abbots of Bury St. Edmunds and Woburn to investigate the claims of Wulfstan and the nature of the alleged miracles. The visit of the archbishop on September 1, 1202, is described in the Translation and the Annals of Worcester,⁴ but a chapter in the first book of the Miracles indicates that this was not Hubert Walter's only visit to Worcester at this time. In Lent, presumably of 1202, the archbishop, acting as king John's deputy during the wars in France, met there a great assembly of magnates, ecclesiastical and lay, to discuss the affairs of state, and in particular to establish a firmer peace with the Welsh. The bishops of Hereford, Landaff and Bangor, the archbishop of Dublin, and the abbot of Cluny are specially mentioned as being present. Acting in accordance with the papal mandate, the delegates made a three days' investigation at Worcester and satisfied themselves as to the genuineness of the miracles. They also arranged for the transmission, under the seals of the bishop and convent, of an authentic record of the Life of Wulfstan "written in the English tongue 100 years before." This can hardly be other than the Old English Life by Coleman to which reference has been made above. Whether it ever returned to England is unknown.

¹ The chasuble had not perished, but of the mitre only the golden embroidery remained, while the shroud appears to have decayed. Some difficulty was experienced in separating the bones from one another and the hair from the head on which the *corona* was still visible. Having removed the clothing from the corpse, they placed the garments and ornaments in one shrine and the flesh and bones in another. Bishop John's death on September 28 of the same year (*Ann. Mon.*, IV., p. 389) was regarded as a punishment for his irreverent procedure.

² Mentioned in the Annals of Worcester (*Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 391) as well as in the Miracles (opening rubric) and Translation (par. 7).

³ The Annals of Worcester incorrectly place this event under 1204 (*Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 392). *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 391.

The letters of the archbishop were taken to Rome by some Worcester monks headed by Walter of Broadwas and Randulf of Evesham. Bishop Mauger himself also paid a personal visit to Rome, and it is probably to this visit that the author of the prologue to the first book refers when he mentions the trials of the journey over the Alps and the sufferings at the hand of robbers near Bologna. On April 21, 1203, Wulfstan was duly canonized, and a bull dated May 14 was directed to the bishop and convent of Worcester.¹ It was doubtless no small advantage to the community to be possessed of a potent saint at this time, for much money must have been needed to rebuild the church, which had suffered by fire in 1202.² It is not improbable that the beautiful choir of Worcester cathedral was erected in part by the offerings at the shrine of St. Wulfstan. The new building was consecrated on June 7, 1218, and on the same day Bishop Silvester translated the body of Wulfstan to a shrine in the presence of a great concourse of prelates and magnates.³

Two years previous to the Translation, the corpse of King John was honourably interred at Worcester. Roger of Wendover records that when asked where he wished to be buried in the event of his death, the king answered "to God and St. Wulfstan I commend my body and my soul." That John should have regarded Wulfstan as his patron saint is perhaps not surprising in view of the part played by the famous legend of the deposition of Wulfstan in the controversy with the papacy. The Burton Annals⁴ tell how the king, when setting forth to Pandulf, the papal representative in 1211, his reasons for refusing to receive Stephen Langton, quoted the story of Wulfstan's appeal to the deceased Edward the Confessor as a proof that the king alone had the right to appoint bishops.⁵

Few sources yield so much information regarding the religious outlook of the time as do accounts of miracles. With the credi-

¹ A copy is given in the *Miracles* (Bk. II, c. 1). There is a transcript in MS. Royal 4, C. ii, fo. 146b in the British Museum.

² *Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 391.

³ Portions of the relics were given to the prelates present so that the saint might be honoured in many places.

⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, I, pp. 209-210.

⁵ John was not the only king who paid special devotion to Wulfstan, for a number of passages in the *Annals of Worcester* show that Edward I visited the shrine and gave substantial offerings. *Wulfstan seems to have retained considerable popularity throughout the Middle Ages, and many churches boasted portions of his remains.

bility of the miracles themselves we are not concerned. There are indeed unmistakable signs that incredulity was not rare among contemporaries. We meet with a priest who did not believe in the miracles of Wulfstan,¹ a certain Nicholas of Clun who ridiculed the suggestion that he should go to the saint,² and a girl of Gloucester whose family derided a vision wherein she was urged to go to Worcester.³ Only unbelievers who repented or suffered punishment find a place in these pages, but there may have been many who did neither. Among the devotees of Wulfstan, as among those of other saints, persons are found whose frame of mind was not very respectful—a woman whose daughter was not cured at the tomb went home in anger, proclaimed her disbelief in the powers of the saint, and said that she would no longer pay devotion to him⁴; a magnate ridiculed to the bishop the saint who could not protect his pilgrims from purse-cutters.⁵ On the same plane must have been the minds of the prior who believed that Wulfstan had cured his ox of a tumour,⁶ and the man who invoked the saint to restore to health his horse, bitten by a snake, and did not cease to make the sign of the cross on its head with a penny vowed to St. Wulfstan until the swelling had gone down.⁷

The practice of "vowing" pennies to Wulfstan was very common, and the "water of St. Wulfstan" was deemed to be potent in dispelling diseases and was employed not only in Worcester but in outlying places whither it had been carried by his devotees. A still more frequent practice was to make a candle and devote it to St. Wulfstan, often by sending it to Worcester. Candles were frequently carried to the tomb and burned by pilgrims, and the story of the woman who, neglecting to watch them, found the cloth on the tomb alight⁸ suggests a reason for the not infrequent conflagrations. This passage and that relating how a blind boy on recovering his sight was attracted by and kissed the image of St. Wulfstan painted on the tomb⁹ are among the few references to the external appearance of the sepulchre at this date.

The devotees included persons of all ranks and types, but women and children form the larger part of those cured. Though the inhabitants of the monks' estates regarded themselves as possessing a prior claim upon the saint,¹⁰ the homes of many of the pilgrims were far distant from Worcester. Not unnaturally, a large number

¹ Book I, c. 18.

² II, c. 5.

³ I, c. 34.

⁴ I, c. 41.

⁵ I, c. 19.

⁶ II, c. 4.

⁷ II, c. 6.

⁸ II, c. 14.

⁹ II, c. 13.

¹⁰ I, c. 33.

of people from Wales and the Marches figure in these pages. But besides these and the people from the counties contiguous to Worcestershire there were pilgrims from south-west England, from Essex, from London, from Hertfordshire, and even from Ireland and Normandy. The fame of St. Wulfstan, who had acquired the title of the "new saint,"¹ had penetrated far, and as a result attracted the bad with the good. Purse-snatchers were not uncommon among the crowds of pilgrims praying at the tomb.² Even a man suspected of being a thief by profession was given to honouring the saint with a candle and his pains were not unrewarded.³

The church seems always to have been teeming with crowds of pilgrims and persons afflicted with diverse diseases. Their cries of suffering or rejoicing filled the air, and not a few spent many days before the tomb. Many of the cured made offerings,⁴ and some left their crutches behind in remembrance.⁵ A great variety of diseases occurs in these pages, and the frequency of ulcers, internal disorders and leprosy is probably not unconnected with the lack of adequate sanitation. Demons, of course, are usually regarded as the cause of insanity, and the rudeness of the age is illustrated by the brutal treatment meted out to these sufferers: a mad woman was afflicted with blows that the demon might be expelled,⁶ and a potter who went mad was bound and rods were placed by him so that passers-by might scourge him.⁷ A lunatic boy, restored to health, saw a demon go out of his body and shake its finger at the tomb of the saint.⁸

Another interesting feature of the miracles is the mixture of the cult of St. Mary with that of St. Wulfstan. Sometimes the Blessed Virgin summoned invalids to the tomb of St. Wulfstan⁹; she appeared to others at the tomb, either alone or with Wulfstan,¹⁰ who was usually seen clothed in pontifical vestments; and on one occasion Wulfstan was seen in a vision to intercede with her on bended knees for a mute.¹¹ There are also instances of what might be described as rivalry between saints: a girl at Gloucester had not recovered her sight by the aid of St. Peter the patron of the abbey, and proposed to go to Worcester, but her family ridiculed the suggestion that Wulfstan could do what was beyond the powers

¹ Book I, c. 37.

² I, c. 19; II, c. 22.

³ II, c. 18.

⁴ e.g. I, c. 17.

⁵ e.g. I, c. 33, II, c. 9.

⁶ I, c. 13.

⁷ I, c. 15.

⁸ II, c. 19.

⁹ I, c. 34, II, c. 17.

¹⁰ e.g. II, c. 16, when the brilliance of her appearance was said to have exceeded by far that of Wulfstan.

¹¹ I, c. 43.

of St. Peter¹; a paralytic priest of Melksham had visited the sanctuaries of almost every saint in England, but without effect until he came to Worcester.² Sailors appealed in vain to St. Thomas the Martyr and to St. Nicholas, but their prayers to Wulfstan were answered at once. Indeed, in the seas between Bristol and Ireland, Wulfstan rivalled even St. Nicholas as a protector of sailors during his life-time.³

Both these miracles illustrate the perils of the voyage between England and Ireland when ships were unequal to the storms encountered. The long story in the *Miracles* introduces an additional element of danger, the existence of pirates. An island (clearly Lundy Is.) near which the sailors were driven was held by a notorious pirate William de Mareis, son of Geoffrey de Marisco, and used as a base for attacks on passing vessels. Travelling on land was almost equally insecure. A night journey of no considerable length (under four miles) between Taunton and Pitminster meant a lonely walk through a wood, and a priest's servant who performed it met with rough treatment.⁴ That travel in Italy was scarcely less fraught with dangers in the early thirteenth century than in the eleventh is shown by the prologue to the first book of the *Miracles*. Yet even in this collection there is a reference to the travels of a scholar. Master Reginald, sprung from the village of Sapey, studied at Paris until bodily affliction compelled him to return to his native land to seek a cure.⁵

The practice of blood-letting is twice referred to. In the first example the treatment seems to have rendered the patient insane,⁶ and in the second a woman who had not recovered the use of her arm after it had been broken had blood extracted from her thumb, but her condition was made worse than before.⁷ Other tales illustrating the social customs of the time are that in which a woman was miraculously punished for not abstaining from work on the feast of St. Philip and St. James,⁸ and the story of the boy who went to sleep when he should have been watching the cattle and woke up to find that they had all vanished.⁹ Of considerable importance, in view of its date, is the mention of a man described as one of that sort of singers who lead the "public choruses" in the highways.¹⁰ The references to the beadles of the city of Worcester¹¹ and the mayor (*myniceps*) of the city of Hereford¹² are

¹ Book I, c. 34.² I, c. 32.³ II, c. 10. *Vit. Wulst.*, II, c. 19⁴ I, c. 23.⁵ *Infra*, p. 185.⁶ I, c. 21.⁷ II, c. 7⁸ I, c. 16.⁹ I, c. 27.¹⁰ Bk. I, c. 33.¹¹ II, c. 18.¹² I, c. 12.

among the earliest known. There is a reference to an otherwise unknown hospital of St. John the Baptist which may have been Worcester.¹ Of some value is the narrative which relates that a boy was deprived of his inheritance by his overlord on the ground that, "as it is commonly said, succession in inheritance does not belong to a mute."² It is interesting to find the itinerant justices, with the licence of the bishop, holding their sessions in the western part of the cathedral church of Worcester on a Sunday. It was during this same eyre that a judicial combat was fought near the priory. The account, the longest in the series, however revolting may be its details, supplements and corrects the entry in the Plea Roll. The defeated combatant, blinded and emaciated, was against the will of the brothers admitted to the Hospital of St. Wulfstan by a certain Isabel an inmate of the same house, and he was reputed to have recovered normality after visiting the tomb of Wulfstan, the truth of the miracle being afterwards tested by Benedict, bishop of Rochester.⁴

To some of the miracles there attaches a historical significance. There is an incidental reference to the disorders in England resulting from the struggle with Louis of France in the story of the resurrection of the infant son of Hugh of Petton. Hugh, like many others had suffered the loss of his possessions during the struggle and the fifth year of Henry III's reign went to the royal court to seek re-instatement.⁵ The troubles in the Welsh marches are illustrated by the experiences of a certain inhabitant of Abergavenny who, while making a pilgrimage to Worcester, fell into the hands of the garrison of Grosmont castle which was at war with that of Abergavenny, and he escaped death only on account of the reverence in which the name of Wulfstan was held at Grosmont.⁶ A miracle which took place at Worcester on October 23, 1212, illustrates the state of Ireland, for it relates how one of the victims of Hugh Lacy recovered his speech at the tomb of Wulfstan.⁷ Another reference to Irish history concerns Adam de Hereford, who, the author says, brought the royal treasure from Ireland, probably after John's return from the expedition of 1210, and was employed by the king in court affairs until he was afflicted with dropsy. The royal physicians were placed at his service, but it was through the instrumentality of Wulfstan that he recovered his health.⁸

¹ Book II, c. 18. ² II, c. 11. ³ II, c. 15. ⁴ II, c. 16 and note

⁵ II, c. 15. ⁶ I, c. 31. ⁷ I, c. 43 and note. ⁸ I, c. 44 and note

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S LIFE OF WULFSTAN

As preserved in MS. Cott. Claud. A.v., the one surviving copy of
the complete text. (The MS. is defective, one leaf
having been lost.)

Incipit epistola Willelmi ad fratres Wigornienses, in uita uenerabilis Wulstani eiusdem loci episcopi.

Domino venerabili Guarino¹ priori et omni reuerentissimo
Wigornensi² conuentui, Willelmus amorem filii clientelam famuli.
Dudum a uobis iussus in sancti patris nostri Wlstan iuita manum
ponere; aliquamdiu subterfugi officium. Subterfugii cause plurime.
Sed ea uel prima uel maxima; quod cum sim imparis meriti
consci³ ulterio³ra uiribus ar³rogo, si sanctum laudo. *Non est
enim speciosa laus in ore peccatoris.* Huc accessit et preceptum
• uestrum non mediocriter labefactauit metus; ne obedientiam
meam quorundam pulsaret liuor, si opus inuaderem, ut hactenus
intemptatum ita meliori relinquendum. His causis exteritus
linguam obstinato frenassem silentio; nisi spes de pietate beati
antistitis concepta, mederetur formidini, accurreret solatio. Con-
sueuit enim beatus Wlstanus nudis etiam se uerbis aman⁴tes, tum
offensarum remissa donare; tum protectionis sue umbone defendere.
Multo magis igitur perpetuam de se meditant⁵i scripturam, et uenia
fauebit; et emolumento sermonis non deerit. Dignabitur etiam
dominus Christus de hoc opere amoliri omnem inuidiam; quod
susceptum est non scientie supercilio sed sincere deuotionis obsequio.
Quapropter eius ope fretus, faciam quod imperastis. Non ulterius
munus meum obnubet meticulousa cunctatio; sed moram preteriti
temporis executionis celeritate compensabo. Et uos quidem dum
uitalis adhuc aure compotes, probe cognoscetis, me nichil dicere,

¹ See Introd., p. viii.

² MS. "Wigorn."

³ MS. "s" in middle of word interlined.

| col. 2.
He has
followed
closely the
O.E. life by
Coleman,
Wulfstan's
chaplain

quod non sit solida ueritate subnixum; quod non sit probabiliū uirorum testimonio compertum. Adeo antiquorum mentibus insederunt uisa; adeo iuniores amplectuntur audita. Posteris uero quando gestorum memoria frigebit, poterit subesse¹ dubitatio; nisi testem idoneum produxero. Quo circa quia non nisi exacta fide deberent recitari gesta sanctorum; dabo uadem non improba-
bi | lem dictorum meorum. Is erit Colemannus² monachus uester, uir nec scientia imperitus, nec sermone patrio infacetus. Scripsit enim Anglice ne³ gestorum auolaret memoria; uitam eiusdem patris, si attendas ad sensum, lepore graui, si ad litteram, simplicitate rudi. Dignus cui fides non derogetur in aliquo; quippe qui nouerit intime mores, magistri ut discipulus, et religionem ut quindecim annis capellanus. Huius ego ut uoluistis insistens scriptis, nichil turbaui de rerum ordine; nichil corrupti de gestorum ueritate. Sane uerbis que uel dicta⁴ sunt, uel in tempore dici potuerunt, enarrandis supersedi; consulens in omnibus ueritati, ne uideretur periclitari. Ōciosi enim est hominis, et sue indulgentis facundie, cum gesta sufficiant, uerba nundinari, nisi forte sint aliqua, que propter eximium sui splendorem, breuem exigant mentionem. Quæ cum ita sint, hanc queso mihi redibete gratiam; ut ab hōc opusculo, et emulos dignemini summouere; et obsequium meum, piissimi Wlstani sensibus quo presentiores estis insinuare; domini uenerabiles | et merito amabiles patres. **Explicit epistola.**

| fo. 199.

Incipit prologus.

Prologue.
Moral value
of saints'
lives, ancient
and modern.

Multa et ut nostra fert opinio innumera, sunt in scripturis sanctis, quibus diuina dignatio mentes mortalium ad bone uite cultum informat, tum precepta tum exempla. Illis qualiter uiuendum sit instrumur; istis innuitur, quantum sint deo iuuante factu facilia que iubentur. Natura porro hunc quibusdam ingenerauit animum; ut quamuis utraque sciant necessaria, magis tamen exemplorum quam exhortationum eos prolectet auditus. Et ueterum quidem gestis pro antiquitatis assurgunt reuerentia, sed alacriori capiuntur dulcedine, si alicuius sancti qui nuperime fuerit, uita producat in medium, in qua sicut e speculo conspiciuntur, ut ita dictum sit uiuum religionis simulachrum. Accedat⁵ enim iocunde relationi nouitas; ne aliquis desperet a se per dei gratiam

¹ MS. "sub" interlined.

² See Introd., pp. viii-x.

³ Inserted in margin in different hand.

⁴ MS. altered from "dicam."

⁵ MS. altered from "accedit."

feri posse quod audit ab alio de proximo factum fuisse. Unde non contempnenda sicut opinor cura successit animo beati Wlstani episcopi Wigornensis uitam nequaquam | posteris inuidere; sed | col. 2.
eam stilo qualicumque eterne mandare memorie. Fuit enim uir ut nostris temporibus affinis, ita priorum patrum uirtuti non absimilis. Qua propter benigno lectori grande paciscor commodum; ut quanquam eum non minus quam priscos pro miraculorum gloria suscipiat familiariter tamen pro recenti etate, mores eius emulo exercicii pede sequi contendat. Nec uero hec dico quod multis hanc beatitudinem arrogem; ut sicut ipse fuit imitator Christi, sic possint eum imitari. Pauci quin potius, pauci quos equus¹ amabit Iesus, poterunt quasi longo ad eum respicientes interuallo, uirtutum ipsius uestigiis insistere; potius quam ipsas sibi perfecte² inculpere. Adeo quod salua maiorum reuerentia dixerim,³ nullo in continentia uitiorum inferior fuit; adeo uirtutum studium ceptum a tenero, felici ad senectam continuauit proposito. Quo circa par fuerat,⁴ ut scriptor gestorum eius esset limatus lingua et probatus scientia, quatinus sullimia facta, non humili proferrentur eloquio et laudata laudator sequeretur exemplo. Michi nec⁵ uero oratoria facultas sup | petit⁶ nec de integritate uite animus applaudit. | fo. 199b.
Sola me palpat et urget obedientia ne munus quod fraterna necessitudo imponit, sponsum presertim et anime fructuosum obstinate recusem. Assit mihi spiritus sancti clementia ut eodem inspirante noster dirigatur stilus quo auctore bene operatus est Wlstanus. Et quidem qui rethoricis nituntur institutis; ita sermonem suum instituunt; ut post⁷ auditorem suum beneuolum, mox attentum, postremo docilem reddant. Quem dicendi morem⁸; ego quoque cum res expostulat non omitto. Hic porro eo modo rethoricari extra propositum est. Est enim ex habundanti argumenta querere, ubi et ad credendum fides excitat, et ad legendum materia inuitat. Qua de causa pio patri lectores non defuturos arbitror; dum polus rotabit sidera, dum ulla in mundo erit littera. Hanc ipso sibi apud homines, per dei misericordiam uiuens locauit et post fata tenet gratiam. Sed hactenus prohemium traxisse suffecerit. Nunc celesti freti auxilio opus destinatum tali ordiemur initio.
Explicit | prologus. | col. 2

¹ Second "u" interlined in MS.² MS. altered from "perfectio."³ MS. altered from "duxerim"⁴ MS. altered from "fuerit"⁵ "nec" added in margin in different hand.⁶ MS. altered from "suppetet"⁷ Sic MS. for "primo."⁸ "Quem . . . morem" Wh om.

fo. 160b, col. 1. **Incipit uita sancti Wlstani episcopi et confessoris.**¹

1.

Book I.
Chapter I.

{ col. 2.
Wulfstan's
birth and
parentage.

Pagus est in regione Merciorum non incelebris, Warwiccensis² dictus. Is habet uillam Icentune³ uocatam; cuius iam inde a proauis incole parentes uenerabilis Wlstani fuere. Pater Æthelstanus,⁴ mater Wlfgeua⁵ nominati; nec tenues censu nec natalibus abiecti. Ita utentes seculo, | ut redderent que sunt dei deo.⁶ Illud perfunctorie; istud studiose. Industria in illis cum generositate certabat; ut alterum facultatum copiam, alterum uirtutum studium subpeditaret.⁷ Coniugali affectu magis quam pruritu conuicti,⁸ meruere filium; in preclarum Anglie decus euasurum. Puero Wlstanus uocabulum datum; ex anteriore materni, et ex posteriore paterni nominis compositum. Spei felicitis infans felici auspicio utrorumque parentum nomen mutuatur; qui utrorumque sanctitatem in se transfunderet; nescio an etiam incomparabiliter supergressurus. Eorum siquidem penitus euanuisset memoria sinon eos filius conspicua sanctitate animi extulisset in speculam.⁹ Primis elementis literarum apud Euesham initiatus; perfectiori mox apud Burch¹⁰ scientia teneras informauit medullas. Gratum dictu, quantum iam tunc futurarum uirtutum indolem crebris paraturiebat indicis; uix dum primum pueritie limen egressus, ita quod maturum, quod sanctum predicabilis pueri spirabat et loquebatur

Education at
Evesham
and
Peterbor-
ough.

¹ Rubric in MS. continues "Prologu(m) require in fine libri." The Letter and Prologue, placed at the end of the Life by the scribe, have been restored to the correct place above. In a hand, apparently of the seventeenth century, is added to the rubric "per Senatam Brauonium monachum Wigorniensem. Anno 1170."

² *Flor. Wig.* (I, 218) "Warewicensi."

³ See *Introd.*, p. xxii.

⁴ *Flor. Wig.* (I, 218) "Eatstano." MS. Cott. Vit. C. viii, fo. 8b, "Æthelstanus."

⁵ *Flor. Wig.* (ibid.) "Wlfgeoua." MS. Cott. Vit. C. viii, fo. 8b, "Wulueua."

⁶ The scribe has omitted the first five words of this sentence, which reads in the Durham MS.: "Ita utentes seculo; ut redderent que sunt Cesaris Cesari, et que sunt dei deo."

⁷ "Ita . . . subpeditaret." Wh. om. ⁸ "Coniuncti" Durham MS.

⁹ "Spei . . . speculam." Wh. om.

¹⁰ *Flor. Wig.* (I, 218) "Burh." MS. Cott. Vit. C. viii, fo. 8b, "Burch." At the opening of the eleventh century the monastery of Peterborough was ruled by Cenwulf, who became bishop of Winchester in 1005. Hugh Candidus (Ed. Sparke, *Historiæ Angliæ*, III p. 31) describes Cenwulf as an energetic abbot who by his learning attracted to the abbey bishops, clerks, and monks, rich and poor, from far and wide.* His successor was Ælsin, during whose rule of 50 years Wulfstan must have resided at Peterborough. Abbot Ælsin spent three years in Normandy with Queen Emma, apparently during the lifetime of Ethelred (Hugh Candidus, III, p. 32).

modestia. Ieiuniis quantū id etatis homo pateretur operam non negare; humiles in excelsum orationes porrigere. Pueriles garritus illecebrarum fomitem, primum in se, tum in aliis aspernari. Mature uite uestigiis instare; adeo ut coeuos et etiam maiores natu supplicibus conueniret precibus; quatinus sibi bene uiuendi simulachrum ipsi bene uiuendo effigiarent. Siquid perperam faceret arguerent; ipse libens correctioni manus daret. Deuotio¹ prouexit usum; ut nichil uideret imitandum, quod non formaret in exemplum. Monstrabat nimirum his factis se sapientem et esse et fore; iuxta quod diuina sapientia Salomonis innexuit literis. Corripe inquit sapientem; et amabit te. Nec minus illud in se naturaliter rapiebat; quod olim philosophia ex aditis effudit suis. Semper aliquem bonum uirum ante oculos mentis proponendum; cuius respectu mores componantur. Non enim a iusticia facile deuiat; qui semper uel deum uel hominem cogitat; cuius timore peccata compescat. Habebat tunc magistrum Erueuium² nomine; in scribendo et quidlibet³ coloribus effingendo peritum. Is libros scriptos, sacrametarium⁴ et psalterium, quorum principales literas auro effigiauerat puero Wlstanō delegandos curauit.⁵ Ille preciosorum apicum captus miraculo; dum pulcritudinem intentis oculis rimatur; et scientiam literarum internis haurit medullis. Uerum doctor ad seculi spectans comodum; spe maioris premii sacramentarium regi tunc temporis Cnutoni, psalterium Emme regine contribuit. Perculit puerilem animum facti dispendium; et ex imo pectore alta traxit suspiria. Meror inuitauit sompnum; et ecce consopito assistens uir uultus angelici tristitiam propulsat; librorum reformationem promittit. Nec minus pollicito set multo post euenit; sicut progrediens sermo dicere perget.⁶ Itaque uernans etas pueritia exclusa; adolescentiam induxerat; et erat Wlstanus quanto etate auctior; tanto sanctitate prouectior.

fo. 16r.

His virtuous childhood.

Prov. xix, 25.

His teacher, Erwin, lends him a Sacramentary and a Psalter.

| col. 2.

The books are given to Cnut and Emma (1017-1035).

Return to Wulfstan foretold.

¹ MS. "D" is over erasure, apparently replacing two letters.

² Scribal error for "Erueuium." The name is a Latinized form of the O.E. "Earnwini." Freeman's view (N.C., 2nd Edn., II, p. 460) that the name "seems to imply a foreign origin" is probably incorrect, as no corresponding Continental name is recorded in either Forstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, or in Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names*. Ælsein, abbot of Peterborough, mentioned in the note above, died in 1055 and was succeeded by Ernwinus, "vir mirae sanctitatis et simplicitatis," who after a short and apparently unsuccessful rule, voluntarily resigned in 1057 and lived for eight years after (Hugh Candidus, III, p. 41). It is highly probable that Wulfstan's tutor is to be identified with this abbot.

³ "d" interlined.

⁴ Sic MS.

⁵ This word over erasure.

⁶ See below, Chapter 9.

| fo. 161 b.

Wulfstan's
athletic
prowess.

| col. 2.

He resists
the advances
of a lewd
girl.

A prodigy.
Wulfstan
hidden by a
cloud.

| fo. 162.

Denique numquam ut ea fert etas aliqua labe castimoniam prodidit ; sed integri pudoris palmam in celum tulit. Aderat ei in cunctis diuine gratie liberalitas ; ne uacillaret arbitrii libertas. Senserat ipse olim infusum sibi | celitus castitatis munus ; nec quin diceret ingrato silentio indulsit ; Sed celeste nectar quod hauserat sine liuore aliis propinauit. Quod quatinus actum sit dicam ; ut posteris liqueat ; quanta dei gratia iuuenem et preuenerit et subsequuta sit. Reuerso de Burch ad parentes puella e uicino nata, ad naufragium pudoris et illecebram uoluptatis molesta erat. Denique manum prensitare, oculo annuere, et cetera que sunt moriture uirginitatis indicia lasciuis etiam gestibus impudicitie facere solebat.¹ Set cum is castitatis instinctu inpudicie desideria frustraretur ; hoc modo pene illum uenata est. Conuenerat ² in campum frequens cetus adolescentum ; cuinam letius ³ ludo uacans non diffinio.⁴ Cursitabatur ut fieri solet in talibus uirentis graminis equore ; plausui et fauori adortantium respondebat stridulus aer. Emicat inter alios Wlstanus ; communique cuntorum iudicio illius ludi triumphum reportat. Agrestium multitudo in laudes acclamat ; eademque ut eius famularetur auribus repetit et geminat. Delectaretur alius his neniis ; et flatu adulan | tium concitatus, bullatas in corde formaret ampullas. At ille nec uel corporis nutu, uel animi motu, laudantibus adqueiuit. Quo circa ut de hoc diabolus uictus, alio modo triumpharet ; puelle predicte que prope astaret, infudit animo ut accurreret. Illa non segnis gestibus impudicis motibus inuerecundis ; plausibilem psaltriam agit, id ; ut amasii sui seruiret oculis. Nec minus ille qui uerbis et tactui non cessarat ⁵ ; infractiori gestu totus resolutus in amorem hanelabat. Uerumptamen reducto continuo ad bonum animo ; et lacrimas fudit ; et fugam in dumosa et uepribus hyrsuta loca intendit. Iacebat ergo longiuscule aliis nichilominus secus ⁶ continuantibus. Ibi multa uoluenti et plurimis seipsum accusanti sopor irrepsit fuitque tunc prodigium conspicari. Nubes enim serena et blando fulgore oculis intuentium alludens ; superne descendit ; et aliquamdiu iacentem obnubens, stuporis spectantibus fuit. Discussit protinus splendor nubis, nebulam uanitatis ; et ludibundos animos ad | olescentium, grauitatis afflauit aura.

¹ In margin is drawn hand with large index finger pointing to the description of the girl's actions.

² "nerat" over erasure.

³ "etius" over erasure.

⁴ Sic MS. Wharton prints "definio." ⁵ MS. altered from "cessaret." Read "cesserat."

⁶ MS. "sect" altered to "secus."

Precipitatis ergo cursibus illuc contendunt; sollicitisque sermonibus Wlstanum adorsi quid illud fuerit signi requirunt. Nichil ille negandum ratus; ut flamma celestis amoris que in illum reluxerat scintillaret in socios; rem omnem ordine aperit. Nuper se stimulis carnis acculeatum immensum excanduisse; nunc superno rore irrigatum et uentre et totis uitalibus algere. Sperare se ulterius incentiuo carnis cariturum; et iuuante dei clementia nulla inquietandum molestia. Dictum propheticum; comitata est ueritas rerum. Numquam enim deinceps animum uel oculum eius sollicitauit ullius forme miraculum; numquam turbulenta eluuiis dormientis¹ interpellauit quietem. Hoc se Colemannus ab Hammingo suppriorē didicisse asseuerat; qui ab ipso sancto postmodum episcopo ea se audisse memoraret. Solebat enim reuerendissimus pater pro etate et capacitate audientium moderari sermonem; et nonnumquam sua inferre facta; ut non diffiderent se illa posse facere; que illum audissent per dei gratiam implere ualuisse. Ita illud quod ante dixi pueris; istud iocunda hylaritate narrabat ephebis.²

Coleman had the story from Hemming, who heard the bishop himself relate it. | col. 2.

Interea uterque adolescentis parens secularis uite pertesus, alios pannos, alios mores, et deuoto ardebat animo; et frequenti uoluebat susurrio.³ Quippe iam⁴ eis etas progressior et fortuna despectior imminebat. Nec multa morari quin desideriis⁵ facerent satis; pater apud Wigorniam monachi habitum, mater in eadem urbe sanctimonialis suscepit uelum. Pannorum mutatio inuitauit bonorum exercitium; ut non esset ociosum alterasse uestes nec auxisse uirtutes.⁶ Ita deuotione simplici et studio efficaci propositum executi; diebus suis expletis, nature cessere. Remansit interim Wlstanus in seculo, specie non mente; non animo sed corpore. Verumptamen ut altioris gradus exemplo in se uirtutum speciem deliniaret, paulatimque mundana dediceret; Brihtegi Wigornensis episcopi sese curiæ⁷ dedit. Suscepit eum libens antistes et affinium suffragio et sua benignitate in iuvene dei gratiam fauorabiliter exosculatus. Nec ille fauori suo deerat; set eum probitate morum etiam ab improbissimi et asperi propositi hominibus extorquebat; quippe a quo mens insolentior, uox prurptior, gestus solutior, incessus fractior exulabat, fugitans proteruie⁸ immunis petulantie;

Chapter 2.
Wulfstan's parents enter monasteries.

The youth enters the household of Brihteah Bp. of Worc. (1033-1038). | fo. 162b.

¹ MS. altered from "dormientum." ² "Ita . . . ephebis." Wh. om.

³ See MS. for "susurro." ⁴ "uoluebat . . . iam" over erasure.

⁵ Second " " interlined. ⁶ "Pannorum . . . uirtutes." Wh. om.

⁷ MS. altered from "curiam." "e-" in margin. ⁸ "i" interlined.

Wins the
favour of the
bishop, who
makes him a
priest.

| col. 2.

quodque illi etati maximo est ornamento, seruantissimus custos uerecundie. Cumulabat pectoris gratiam speciositas corporis; quem licet inter uirtutes non numerem, non tamen omnino excludo; quia sicut ars opificis in comodiore materia elucet; ita uirtus in pulcritudine forme splendidius eminet. His artibus ita sibi amorem pontificis conciliauerat; ut ultro eum ad presbiteratum promoueret; quamuis ille uix egreque ad consensum adduci potuerit. Memorabile in iuene, quod eo gradu se indignum putauit; nec minus quod acceptum dignis moribus illustrauit. Nec ergo ad accipiendum aspirauit per arrogantiam; nec semel susceptum decolorauit per inertiam. | Adeo inedia et omni parsimonia corpus attenuare, et anime uires dilatare¹ curabat; adeo, mente sobrius, sermone serius, reuerendus aspectu, iocundus affectu, laicum uestibus, monachum moribus agebat. Si uero in quempiam uidisset reatum; ita sermonem temperabat; ut rigor acerbe correptionis transiret in materiam laudis. Non enim asperum uideri poterat; quod licet durum sonaret intus caritatem redoleret.

Chapter 3.
He refuses
the bishop's
offer of a rich
church and
becomes a
monk at
Worcester.
Gest. Pont.,
§ 138.
| fo. 163.

Optulit ei plusquam semel antistes ecclesiam suburbanam; cuius opulenti redditus ad cotidianam stipem satis superque sufficient. Ille offerentem suspenso in posterum consilio sepe frustratus²; tandem uehementius instanti quid animi gestaret³ aperuit. Fluctuantem seculi statum menti sue uilescere; monachum se fieri uelle totam uitam suam non per partes deo libare cupere. Hoc accepto responso uenerabilis episcopus, magno exiuit gaudio; iuuenilemque calorem monitionum suarum in maius animauit classico. Felicem esse qui mundanas | nausiaret⁴ illecebras; quarum momento temporis euanescit uoluptas; sed totam uitam mordet conscientie asperitas. Felicem esse qui monachus fieri uelit; quod id si genus hominum, quanto despectius mundo crucifixum; tanto preciosius deo proximum; si non mores ab habitu degenerent.⁵ Ita⁶ uotis amborum concordibus, dum quod unus cuperet, alter urgeret; Wlstanus apud Wigorniam induit monachum, Brithego⁷ indulgente fauorem et habitum. Hic si quispiam rethorum more spaciari cupiens, auditoribus proponat, quanta bona faustus dies ille Wigornie attulerit; qui primo Wlstanum monachum uidit; profecto uoto incidet propositum implere non ualens.⁸ Quo circa

¹ MS. altered from "dilacerare."

² Sic MS. for "frustratus."

³ Second "e" interlined.

⁴ Sic MS. for "nausearet."

⁵ "Felicem esse qui mundanas . . . degenerent." Wh. om.

⁶ Over erasure.

⁷ Durham MS. "Brihtego."

⁸ "ns" over erasure.

quod lingua nequit exprimere; conetur uel animus ruminare. Illud non tacendum; quod numquam nostro euo fuit monachus, aut a uiciis remotior, aut in uirtutibus perfectior. Quo circa sinceritate uite ipsius explorata, fratres illius ecclesie non multo post puerorum faciunt custo|dem, mox cantorem, postremo secretarium; quatinus haberet liberio rem copiam orandi, et uberio rem de uirtute in uirtutem crescendi materiam. Quam ille occasionem dignanter amplexus dies ieiuniis, et uigiliis totas continuabat noctes. Numerabat in deliciis; quod nos inertes homines magno ducimus supplicio. Diebus omnibus ad unumquemque uersum vii psalmorum genua flectere; idem noctibus in psalmo centesimo octauo x^o facere.¹ In occidentali porticu ecclesie ubi erat altare omnium sanctorum cum tropheo uexilli dominici, obserato aditu Christum uocare; lacrimis pulsare celum; ethera onerare planctibus. Plumam et ullum omnino lectum non habere; sopori non indulgere, sed surripere. Super gradus ante altare capite posito se humo exponere; uel etiam codice aliquo uertici summisso, super lignum tenuem inuitare soporem. Ante unumquodque decem et viii^{to} ² altarium que in ueteri ecclesia ³ erant septies in die prosterni; nec dura non putare; sed quod alii putarent imitari.⁴ Cumque pre omnibus esset in uirtutibus |sullimis, erat tamen singulis humilitate acclinis, ut aliqua uilia que alius facere fastidiuit, ille incuntanter expleret.⁵

| col. 2.

Holds offices of school-master, precentor, and sacristan.

Ascetic practices.

| fo. 163b.

Mos beato uiro increuerat, noctibus ecclesias in uicino positas, psalmorum excubiis frequentare; et in singulis orationum uota apud deum deponere. Ibat ergo per medium cimiterium; nec titubanti gresu⁶ nec ulla mentem hebetatus formidine. Regebat iusti animum ipse Christus; ut nulle illum turbarent tenebre; nulla quateretur solitudine. Deuotione usus incaluit; uel consuetudinem pene in naturam conuertit.⁷ Hoc effectum; ut ad ecclesiam apostolorum principis quadam nocte ueniret. Hec ⁸ quondam sedes episcopalis fuerat; set eam sanctus Oswaldus clericis irre-

Chapter 4.

Nights spent in neighbouring churches, specially St. Peter's.

Gest. Pont., § 138.

¹ i.e. Ps. 119 of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the recent revisions of the Vulgate. Ps. 10 of the modern edition was regarded as part of Ps. 9 in the version in use in Wulfstan's time.

² "quodque . . . viii^{to}" over erasure.

³ The "old church" must be Oswald's building subsequently pulled down by Wulfstan.

⁴ Possibly error for "mirari."

⁵ "putarent . . . expleret" over erasure. ⁶ Sic. MS. for "gressu."

⁷ "Regebat . . . conuertit" Wh om. ⁸ MS. altered from "hoc."

ligiosis uacuauerat; certo et rationabili commercio potestatem apostoli ad matrem domini mutuatus.¹ Stabat ergo ante altare iam in preces effusus; iam totus in deum gestiens. Tum² uero antiquus hostis qui numquam deest quin uel bona nobis inuideat; uel mala suggerat; cuiusdam rusticani simulacrum indutus orantem talibus interpellat.³ Que illum dementia in tam opace horrore noctis eo adduxisset. Im |portunum eius aduentum esse nec sibi placere. Quo circa luctamen inter se competere; quod experiri uellet cuius esset roboris; qui esset animi tam audacis, hec et immani rictu; et uoce fremebunda. At Wlstanus parum motus, qui nichil minus opinaretur quam hostem tali se celare inuolucro; psalmorum⁴ seriem non interrupto exsequebatur ordine. Et casu uel potius diuino nutu, uersum illum ruminabat. *Dominus michi adiutor; non timebo quid faciat mihi homo.* Dicentem hostis inuadit; duris ulnarum internodiis corpus ieiunius attenuatum astringens. Ille primo monstrum brachiorum obiectu repellit; mox etiam uicario certamine aggreditur. Quippe comperto, quod diabolus sub illo simulationis lateret pallio; fidei arma concutiens, in certamen animatur. Durauit hec lucta non paruo noctis tempore; nescias maiore impudentia diaboli; an confidentia sancti. Facinus hostile et improbum; spiritum homini corporaliter congredi non tam probandarum uirium causa, quam probatarum inuidia. Con |fidentia uiri prompta et laudabilis immani furie non cedere; que plerumque deo permittente noscitur terras et maria turbare. Qua propter tandem larualis umbra, succumbens animose fidei acrique fetore uicinum turbans aerem; in auras confusa euauit. Ne tamen nichil uideretur fecisse; pedem iusti quanta poterat iniquitatis mole conculcans, non secus quam ignis perfodit cauterio. Penetrauit labes illa in ossa, teste Godrico eiusdem conuentus monacho; qui ut auctor est Colemanus, sepe se illud uidisse diceret, uulnus an ulcus dicam ignoro. Idem etiam Colemanus asseuerat, notum sibi fuisse agrestem illum; cuius speciem inimicus assumpserat. Idoneum nimirum hominem,

¹ On the ecclesiastical changes at Worcester under Oswald, see J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester* (Brit. Acad.). The Dean of Wells, by an examination of Worcester charters, has shown that the church of St. Mary did not exist before the time of Oswald. The transference of the episcopal seat from St. Peter's to St. Mary's may have been due to increased congregations no less than to Oswald's desire to replace the secular by a monastic chapter.

² "Tum . . . uidebit" Wh. om.

³ "inter" over erasure.

⁴ "ps" over erasure.

| col. 2.
Attacked by
the devil in
the form of a
rustic.

Ps 119 (now
118), v. 6

The devil,
overcome,
leaves a
stench be-
hind.
| fo. 164.

The rustic
known to
Coleman.

et atrocitate roboris, scelerum inmanitate, et torua deformitate uultus, in quem se improbissimus latro transformaret; a quo procedit quicquid horridum, quicquid fedum, mundus uel uidit uel uidebit.

Adolescebat temporis processu in Wlstando germen omne uirtutum; precipueque obedientia et ad prelatos subiectio. Quamlibet enim durum, quamlibet iu | beretur asperum, statim producebat uelle; quamuis non suppeteret posse. Unde et ex diuine gratie fonte, scaturiuit in eum amor hominum; ut omni deliniendum putarent obsequio; quem acceptum habebat celestis dignatio. Antistes maxime; qui sic in Wlstanum afficiebatur animo; ut quouis honore dignum putaret. Nam et strenue peracti officii industria; spem altioris dignitatis salubriter exsequendi, si conferretur infuderat. Hac occasione prepositus¹ ut tunc prior ut nunc dicitur monachorum constitutus; statim materiam qua uirtus emergeret arripuit, multis² incommodis intus forisque propulsatis. Nam res exteriores antecessorum incuria pessundatas,³ ingenii uiuacitate in solidum restituit; et interiores freno regulari cohercuit. Quod ut efficacius faceret; uite sue subiectis religiosa porrigebat exempla; erubescens scilicet predicare, quod fastidiret facere. Ipsam porro doctrinam non suo confingebat ingenio; nec⁴ coturnato et plausibili proferebat eloquio. Quin potius maiorum nostrorum scriptis inuigilans, hauriebat sitibundo | pectore fluentia doctrine; que postea mellito eructaret gurgite. Licet enim mihi de beati Gregorii uita dictum mutuari; quod a Colemanno in patriam linguam ut pleraque alia uersum, ego transfudi denuo in latinum. Itaque cum in omnibus diuine scripture libris, tum in his diligentes pretendebat excubias, qui sibi castimoniam commendarent; eius integritatem in se alacriter exsequi corruptionem in aliis acriter insequi; ut uno liquebit exemplo.

Chapter 5.

| col. 2.

Wulfstan
made prior.Reforms the
priority within
and without.

| fo. 164b.

Erat in eadem urbe matrona, et domesticis opibus locuples, plusquam sufficeret uictui; et que forme liniamentis curioso intuentium lenocinaretur aspectui. Frequentius⁵ in ecclesiam ueniens; sed magis ut uisentibus esset spectaculo; quam diuine lectionis intenta oraculo. Quod eo claruit; quia uerbis adulatoriis tantum uiri animum sollicitare presumpsit, incassum; quia pul-

Chapter 6

¹ See Intro., p. xxxviii.² MS. altered from "multas."³ See Intro., p. xxiii, seq.⁴ Over erasure.⁵ "Frequentius . . . compescuit." Wh. om.

Tempted to
adultery by
a wealthy
woman.
| col. 2.

critudo eius et promissa, infra pudicitiam Wlstani fuere. Et diu quidem multumque cecum uulnus se | creto aluerat; sed timore repulse dissimularat. Tandem cum cupidine superante depudisset eam castimonie; prioris iuxta se in ecclesia forte stantis pannos tactu impudenti temerauit. Quam cum ille oculi ¹ uigore perstrinxisset; ipsa omnipotentis dei nomen contestata ne suum aspernaretur eloquium rogauit. Tum Wlstanus arbitratus eam peccata uelle confiteri substitit; et in partem concessit. At femina opportunitatem nacta; sermones male suasos femineisque blanditiis set uipereis dolis infectos, sancto uiro assibilat. Ex longo tempore eius se colloquium meditatam; ut si non refugia suggereret, quod amborum utilitati concederet.² Habere se domum, ut sumptibus affluentem ita procuratore ³ carentem; quod uterque parens ⁴ obierit, et maritus non assit. Debere sapientiam ipsius tante cure accedere; ut eius arbitratu, et regatur familia; et dispensetur pecunia. Quibus dictis, cum inferret ille ut pecuniis in pauperes erogatis, se ipsam uelari faceret; ea subiecit. Quin immo se hoc optare et orare; ut paululum | prepositi ⁵ rigore inflexo, suum dignaretur cubile. Leue uel nullum peccatum esse; si femineo potiatur amplexu. Si etiam esset grandiusculum; elemosinis ex suo redimeret; quicquid ueniabilis culpa obfuscaret. Ad hoc opes sibi affluere; nec uoluntatem deesse. Non tulit prior ulterius; set loquentis uoce interrupta, pretentoque fronti crucis signaculo; fuge inquit cum eo quo digna es odio, fomes laciue, ⁶ mortis filia, uas Sathane. Verba increpatoria, subsecuta est alapa; quam ille zelo castitatis, faciei muliercule gannientis tanto nisu infregit; ut illise crepitus palme, ualuas etiam exiret ecclesie. Migravit per urbem huiusce facti fabula; totisque compitis, per multos dies cantabatur; qualiter alter Ioseph muliebrem lasciuiam, et animo respuit, et manu compescuit.

Gen. xxxix.

Chapter 7.

He baptizes
the children
of paupers.

| col. 2.

Nec solum in monachos; sed et in uulgus misericordie sue respergebat semina. Crebro enim summo mane diurnis expeditus officiis, conspicuum se prebebat ante fores ecclesie; ut facilius esset aditus uolentibus se conuenire. Ibi igitur sedulus et pius explorator, diem plerumque | ad sextam, plerumque ducebat ad uesperam; dummodo uel ⁷ uim passis, quanta posset ope concur-

¹ MS. altered from "occuli."

² MS. altered from "conduceret."

³ MS. altered from "procuratorem"

⁴ MS. altered from "parentes."

⁵ D reads "propositi"

⁶ Sic. MS. for "lasciuie"

⁷ "uel" interlined.

reret; uel pauperiorum filios baptizaret. Iam enim uenalitas ex infernalibus umbris emererat; ut nec illud gratis presbiteri preberent infantibus sacramentum; si non infarcirent parentes marsupium.¹ Horum igitur Wlstanus miseratus inopiam; illorum animo miseratus et facto² pertundens auaritiam; in baptizandis pauperibus ultronee dignationis impendebat officium. Currebatur ad eum ex urbibus et agris; ab illis precipue, quorum non intererat dare nummum; ut soboli sue mercarentur lauachrum. Transfusa est a tenuiori fortuna in diuites consuetudo; ut nemo fere illius regionis iure baptizatum aliquem, ex suis putaret; quem Wlstanus non baptizasset. Conciliabat hanc suspicionem non falsa de sanctitate uiri opinio; et de religione non temeraria presumptio. Ferebatur ergo per Angliam ipsius fame preconium; adeo ut potentissimi tunc optimates, Anglorum eius amicitiam | et audissime optarent | *fo 165b.* et constantissime tenerent. Hanc sibi securitatem in secundis, euasionem in sinistris, tutelam in cunctis pollicebantur. Quorum Haroldus et maiorem potentiam conscientia opum spirans, et iam tunc regnum magnanimitate morum affectans; unice diligebat uirum. Ita ut in itinere positus triginta miliaria de recto calle non dubitaret diuertere; ut eius colloquio curarum suarum moles posset auocare. Ita uoluntati eius et clientele deditus, ut Wlstanum tantum puderet iubere; quantum Haroldum non pigeret facere. Nec minorem comiti sanctus refundebat gratiam; eius confessiones benigne accipiens, et orationum apud deum fidus interpres. Eiusdem dilectionis terebat orbitam Aldredus, post Brihtegum Wigornensis episcopus³; uir multum in secularibus astutus, nec parum religiosus. Is domino priori pro reuerentia sanctitatis granditer obsequi, humiliter parere; prorsus in omnibus ut parenti gratissimo deferre.

Payment demanded by corrupt priests

Wulfstan the friend of Earl Harold, Bp Aldred and other magnates.

Nec illud subtraho lecturis; | quod non minori quam cetera *Chapter 8.* que dicta sunt, dignum est illustrari titulo. Animaduertens enim | *col 2.* penuria predicationis populum a bonis moribus diffuere; omni dominica et maioribus sollempnitatibus in ecclesia infundebat ei monita salutis. Putares ex euangelicis et propheticis aditis uerba intonare que ille ex alto stationis plebi pronuntiabat, adeo ut

Prior Wulfstan preaches to the people.

¹ Compare second canon of synod at London, presided over by John of Crema, 1125 (Weaver. *John of Worcester*, p 20)

² "o" over erasure

³ Ealdred was not the immediate successor of Brihteah From 1038 to 1046 the see was held by Lyfing

tonithrua fulminabant in improbos; adeo ut imbres irrigabant electos. Faciebat hoc summa modestia; et quantum ad se humilitatis latebra. Uerumptamen ita latere uolentem inuenit et carpsit inuidia; quamuis carpentem celestis uindicta non preterierit; sicut ex consequenti clarebit. Erat in eadem ecclesia transmarine nationis monachus; Winrichus¹ nomine. Si ad literam iam spectes eruditissimus. Si ad copiam facundie; dicendi ualidus. Si ad calliditatem seculi; prudentissimus. Si ad morum elegantiam; pulcre compositus pereundeque² hominibus acceptus et carus. Idem alias et ira perferuidus; et ad succensendum quod displiceret, torquente liuore acco|modus. His de predicatione sancti multa cauillari solitus; quedam ad hanc sententiam exequebatur. Contra regulas esse; quod officium antistitis³ preriperet. Solius pontificis esse populo predicare; qui solus tradita sibi et indulta potestate peccata posset absolvere. Monacho⁴ silentium et claustrum competere; non pompatico gestu et sermone populi auribus insultare. Videri ergo magis alicuius ambitum dignitatis; quam executionem pietatis. Hec ille non iam tantum a tergo; set etiam quadam die amariore bile succensus, in os obiecit Wlstan. Contra ille scuto patientie armatus paucis occurrit. Nichil esse magis deo gratum; quam populum pessum⁴ euntem in uiam ueritatis reuocare; ideoque non se omissurum. Sin aliud quod gratius esset Christo addiscere posset; incuntanter facturum. Ita tunc discessum et dormitum est. At uero ut deus ostenderet quanti beati uiri factum penderet; horrida calumpniatorem uisione concussit. Cum enim ad quietem composuisset mem|bra in lecto; ad tribunal iudicis ignoti raptus est animo. Ab eo itaque graui seueritate increpatus, cur seruum suum pridie de bono predicationis obiurgasset; dum se parum expurgat; iussus est in paumentum Sterni et cedi. Ita succedentibus sibi lictoribus acriter fustigatus; nichil aliud inter tormenta nisi miserere domine, domine miserere clamitabat. Tandem laxatus interrogatur, num preconem suum ulterius prohiberet; quo minus homines ad curiam suam euocaret. Ille cui nichil illius temporis necessitas non extorqueret; per quicquid sanctum est deierauit, se non modo ultra non prohibiturum; set etiam ultro ad predicationem et eum et alios impulsurum. Tandem sibi miseratio iudicis uitam prorogaret in

¹ For examples of Cont. Germ. Winrich, see Forstemann, *Alteutsches Namenbuch* (Erster Band—Personennamen, col. 1616).

² Sic. MS for "perindeque."

³ MS. altered from "antistes."

⁴ MS. altered from "pessimum"

fo 166.
Objections
of the
foreign
monk,
Winrich,

who is
punished in
a vision
col. 2.

posterum; ut illius euaderet angoris articulum. Ita fide data, ne temeraret promissa; dimissus est. Mox ergo ut potuit; potuit autem statim¹ ut illuxit; prioris pedibus aduoluitur, genua exosculatur. Comissum fatetur; offensam deprecatur. Interrogatus repentine mutationis causam; ordinem uisionis | *fo. 166b.*
iuratus exposuit. Uadabantur ueritatem narrationis lacrimae; sinceris precibus exprompte. Liuores in scapulis protuberantes testabantur nichil eum uanum uidisse; nichil molle sensisse. Nec difficulter ueniam a sancto impetrauit; ad cuius benedictionem sanitas rediit, dolor omnis euauit. Fidem ergo de presentibus exemplis mereatur, et omni ambiguo liberetur antiquitas; que nobis simile factum, in beato Ieronimo representat. Parum enim discrepat illum fuisse cesum propter libros gentilium; et istum propter prohibite predicationis officium. Idem est pene propter gentilium nugas diuinam² scripturam neggligere et eandem predicari nolle. Illud fuit tempus quo super ecclesie tectum machinabatur fabricam; in qua dependerent campane. Eam uero fabricam quo proprio nomine quam proxime apellem; in promptu non habeo. Ad illam ergo erigendam moliebatur gradus scalarum, quibus operantes insisterent; et pendulos³ in aere gradus firmarent. Iamque funibus subuecte stabant scale plures proceritate in celum minantes; quibus manus artificum queque munus exequeretur iniunctum. Quorum unus audacior dum ceteris proruptius arduos meditaretur ascensus; preceps | *col. 2.*
ruit. Astabat eminus sanctus; et dum ille longum per inane uolueretur; Miraculous
crucem calamitati opposuit. Tu affuisti Christe miraculo, tu escape of a
affuisti ruentis miserie; ut manum subieceras⁴ res misericordie. falling work-
Caus enim ab altitudine pedum ad minus quadraginta, non solum man.
corpus non attriuit; sed nec etiam animum frigente sanguine ut solet hebetauit. Surrexit ergo incolumis, sue quidem reputans temeritati quod cecidit; set Wlstani sanctitati quod euasit. Cuius presentiam si fortuna subtraxisset; non solum unam sed ut uulgo dicitur, si centum haberet animas efflasset.⁵ Poteram per amplifi actionem miraculum istud exponere; set insultum est exaggerare uerba: ubi amirationem sui res exigit ipsa.

Comparison
with St.
Jerome.

Wulfstan
builds a bell
turret.

Miraculous
escape of a
falling work-
man.

Interrea rex Edwardus Aldredum episcopum Coloniam ad *Chapter 9.*
seniorem imperatorem Henricum direxit; quedam negotia quorum Ealdred's
mission to
Cologne
(1054).

¹ "potuit . . . statim" over ~~erasure~~.

² Sic MS. for "diuinam."

³ "Et pendulos . . . exigit ipsa." Wh. om

⁴ "ieceras" over ~~erasure~~. Error for "subjiceres."

⁵ There appears to be no modern equivalent of this saying.

cognitionem causa non flagitat compositurum.¹ Qui cum in imperatorie auguste dignationis oculis inuenisset gratiam; aliquot ibi dierum continuatione laborum suorum accepit pausam. Ei seu pro sui reuerentia, seu quia tanti regis legatus esset, multi multa; | quidam sacramentarium et psalterium de quibus supra dixi, dedit in exenium. Ambos enim codices ut sue memorie apud illas gentes locaret gratiam; Cnuto quondam miserat Coloniam. Aldredus ergo prophetie quondam Wlstando dicte ignarus; patriam cum renauigasset; libros pro merito uite illi soli competere, arbitratus restituit. Suscepit ille celeste depositum; magnifice gratulatus, et gracias agens deo quod religioso non fraudaretur desiderio.²

| fo. 167.

Chapter 10.
He becomes
Abp. of
York.

Nicholas II
compels him
to surrender
the see of
Worcester.

| col. 2.

Gest. Pont.,
§ 139.

Eadem tempestate cum Kynegisus³ Eboracensis archiepiscopus diem clausisset, Aldredus⁴ Wigornensis episcopus successioni acclamatur. Id Edwardo regi simplicis quippe anime bene⁵ uisum. Ille Romam pro more profectus; Nicholaum tunc temporis papam uotis suis primo abhorrentem inuenit. Nam nec ille Wigornensi presulatu renuntiare⁶; nec papa nisi cederet, Eboracensem eum pallio insignire uolebat. Adeo illum amor Wigornie deuinxerat; ut maioris honoris nomen eius precio supponeret. Diu igitur multumque conflictu habito; Aldredus reflexo pede Sutrium⁷ uenit; Tostino comite⁸ qui cum eo uenerat magnas efflante minas quod nummi quos Anglia quot annis Romano pape pensitat; hac occasione ulterius non inferrentur. Verumptamen

¹ The mission of Ealdred to Cologne is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicles D. and C (Plummer, I, 184, 185) under the year 1054, but the object of the journey was apparently given only in that version of the O.E. Chronicle which lies behind the Latin annals attributed to Florence of Worcester. Ealdred was sent to negotiate the return of Edward the son of Edmund Ironside to England from Hungary, and was entertained with great honour by the emperor Henry III and by Heriman archbishop of Cologne, where he stayed for a year (*Flor. Wig.*, I, 212).

² See above, Chapter 1.

³ Cynesige died on December 22nd, 1060 (Chronicle, Plummer, I, 189; *Flor. Wig.*, I, 218), and Ealdred was appointed at Christmas of the same year (*Flor. Wig.*, *ibid.*).

⁴ "diem . . . Aldredus" over erasure.

⁵ "e" of "anime" and the word "bene" over erasure.

⁶ See *Introd.*, pp. xxv, xxvi

⁷ Sutri, between Rome and Viterbo, about 25 miles from the former, and on the main route to the north.

⁸ Tostig, the brother of Earl Harold. His wife accompanied him (Chron. D, Plummer, I, 189, 191).

predonibus irruentibus¹ usque ad dolorem² et miserationem uidentium nudati; Romam redire contendunt. Que res rigorem apostolice sedis hactenus inflexit; ut Aldredus pallium mereretur Eboracense Wigornensis ecclesie discessionem pactus; meliori³ dumtaxat persona que in eius diocesi posset inueniri, ab eo in illam subroganda. Huius igitur conditionis arbitros et quedam alia ecclesiastica negotia in Anglia expedituros cardinales adductos; archiepiscopus regi exhibuit. Excepit eos deo deuotissimus princeps more illo suo | paucis imitabili; quo soleret in omnibus ecclesie Romane conuenire moribus. Ita summa reuerentia honore summo, apud se aliquamdiu habitos; iterum ductoris tutele delegauit. Familiarius enim ei conuiuerent; cuius mores longo comitatu addidiscissent; et commercia lingue non ignorarent; denuo ad curiam in Pasca reducendi. Aldredus apostolici precepti tenorem secutus, omnemque pene Angliam cum eis peruagatus; imminente Quadragesima in Wigorniam pedem reflexit. Inde in predia sui iuris profectus; stabilem eis mansionem apud Wlstanum priorem indixit. Illi consilium non aspernati, libenter in otium concesserunt; post uie labores pause acquiescentes. Aderat eis humanitas hospitis nichil pretermittentis; quo minus Anglorum dapsilem liberalitatem, et liberalem dapsilitatem⁴ experirentur. Ipse interea et solite orationis instantiam, et ciborum inedia | non oblitus; propositum pertinaciter urgebat. Totis noctibus psalmicinas protelans excubias; genua crebro flectens; sompno penitus illudens. Tribus in ebdomada diebus, omnis cibi abstemius; noctem perinde ac lucem continuabat ieiunio. Ipsis etiam diebus ne ullo saltem laberetur uerbo; perpetuo linguam choibebat silentio. Tribus reliquis porros caulesue coctos uel elixos, panis cibaria aditiens; et uictum transigebat. Dominicis porro propter festi reuerentiam pisce uinoque frugalitatis parsimoniam soluebat; magis ut Contineret naturam, quam deliniret gulam. Singulis preterea diebus tres pauperes affectuose colens; quibus dominici sequax⁵ mandati et uictum cotidianum et pedum exhibebat lauachrum.

Cardinals
accompany
Ealdred to
England.

| fo. 167b.

They are en-
tertained by
Wulfstan in
Lent.
(1062.)

| col. 2.

Hec cardinalibus fuerunt incitamento; ut eius mirarentur uitam, laudarent doctrinam; quam reuerentior faciebat, dum antici-

Chapter 11.

¹ According to a "tract written in June or July of the very next year, 1062," quoted by Plummer (*Chronicle*, II, p. 250), the outrage was perpetrated by Gerard "comes de Galeria."

² Space after "dolorem."

MS. altered from "meliorari."

⁴ "eralitatem . . . dapsilitatem" over erasure.

⁵ "equax" over erasure.

| *fo. 168.*
Eastercourt:
Cardinals re-
commend
Wulfstan as
suitable suc-
cessor to
Ealdred as
bp. of Wor-
cester.

Support of
Ealdred,
Stigand,
Harold and
Elfgar.

| *col. 2.*

Undertakes
the office un-
willingly.

| *fo. 168b.*
Ethelwig of
Evesham,
rival candi-
date.

paret exemplo quod predicaret uerbo. Denique ad curi | am reuersi,
dum Wigornensis episcopi uentilaretur electio ¹; nomen eius tuler-
unt in medium. Eum antisticio dignum, qui sacerdotio plus
uenerationis adiceret; quam ipse per illud dignitatis acciperet.
Cuius responderet natura industrie; in quo conquadret uita
sapientie. Eam enim esse demum sapientiam; si bene uiuas;
si dicta factis preuenias.² His laudibus suscitauerunt maiorem
uiri animum Edwardi regis in cuius pectore nichil umquam nun-
dinator ecclesiarum, nichil unquam deprehendit auarus, quod
suis conduceret artibus. Astipulabantur uotis cardinalium, archi-
episcopi Cantuariensis, et Eboracensis; ille fauore; iste testi-
monio; ambo iudicio. Accedebant laudibus etiam comites
Haraldus et Elgarus; par insigne fortitudinis, non ita religionis.
Ingens momentum cause facti; adeo ut certatim concitatis equitibus
pro Wlstando mitteretur. Nuntii breui multa milliarum progressi;
stimulis industrie cel | eritatem maturauere negotii. Sanctus
ergo ad curiam exhibitus; iubetur suscipere donum episcopatus.
Contra ille niti; et se honori tanto imparem, cunctis reclamantibus
clamitare. Adeo concors populus in unam uenerat sententiam:
ut non peccaret qui diceret in tot corporibus unam in hoc dumtaxat
negotio conflata esse animam. Sed ut multos uerborum circuitus
in summam conferam ³; frustra cardinales cum archiepiscopis
triuissent operam; nisi refugienti pretendissent pape obedientiam.
Qua ille obiecta confusus cessit; et assensus est electioni, merens,
inuitus, impulsus. Preclare meritoque, obstinatio unius uiri;
cessit hic uoluntati dei et populi. Prouectum autem eius non
temere uoluntatem dei dixerim; qui nunquam contrarium in-
tenderit; et fortuitu commissa, fructuosa penitentia diluerit.⁴
Illud sane non omiserim, fuisse tunc apud Euesham abbatem Ail-
wium ⁵ | nomine; maxime quantum ad seculum prudentie;
quantum ad religionem non minime. Quo circa sepe dictus
Aldredus pro pacto quod fecerat apostolico; nonnullo tempore
fluctuauerat animo; utrum ad episcopatum eligeret Eyelwii
perspicacem industriam in seculo; an Wlstandi simplicem religionem
in deo. Erant enim illi uiri; Wigornensis diocesis diuerso respectu
prestantissimi. Uerumptamen multum hinc indeque librat
causis; quamuis Eielwius sollicito anniteretur partibus; succu-
buerunt diuine providentie, humanarum prestigiarum cautele.

¹ See *Intro.*, p. xxvi.

² "Eam . . . preuenias." Wh. om.

³ "Adeo . . . conferam." Wh. om.

⁴ "Prouectum . . . diluerit" Wh. om

⁵ See *Intro.*, p. xl.

Rex ergo Edwardus Wlstanum Wigornensi episcopatu ex solido inuestiuit; licet illum Aldredus potencia qua uigebat, multis et pene omnibus ut post clarebit prediis uellicauerit. Id sanctus licet egre ut postea ostendit ferret; tamen dolorem silentio suppressit, cedendum tempori arbitratus. Non multo autem post consecratus¹ | est Eboraci ab eodem archiepiscopo,² quod Cantuariensi Stigando, Romanus papa interdixisset officio. Causam interdictionis non est huius temporis allegare. Scire uolentem alias nostre docebunt littere.³ Nec uero sine diuino nutu, credi fas est prognosticon hoc ei fuisse. *Ecce uere Israhelita; in quo dolus non est.* Nichil enim uerius experietur; qui eius conuersionem uiderit, audierit, legerit. Ipse porro impositionem episcopatus adeo ingrate tulit; ut diceret sicut qui presentes fuere testantur, maluisse se decapitari, quam illud onus pati. Adeo ad queque deuia terrarum profecto preparasset fugam; nisi quidam amici suspectam adhibuissent diligentiam. Enim uero animabant deiectum merore animum; hi blandiciis, illi monitis. Blandiciis; genibus eius et pedibus reuerenter affusi: non numquam etiam osculabundi. Monitis; ne celeste munus gratuito infusum, impacientia decoloraret; sed tolerantia in | signiret. Obedienciam uirtutum omnium esse signaculum; cui qui refragandum putaret, nec digne haberetur claustralis monachus, nec popularis episcopus. Quo circa non solum modeste ferret, uerum et deo gratias ageret; qui eum sullimasset in gradum; per quem inferioribus uellet esse consultum. Hec illi. Nec uero dubitandum est ingenti sanctum pectus sudasse conflictu; dum in eo equas partes facerent, et huc illucque raptarent. Hinc amor inde timor. Iste; ne sub insueto labaret onere; ille; ne tot probabilium uirorum imperiose auctoritati et populorum religiose deuotioni uideretur resultare. Enim uero quanto sibi uidebatur indignior, tanto erat acclamatio pertinacior; dum fidem provide amministrandi muneris faceret; idem quod ad amministrandum meticulousus accederet. Stulti enim est ad illud se inconsiderate ingerere; quod ignoret quanti sit laboris expedit.

Chapter 12.

Aldred retains episcopal lands.

| col. 2.

Consecrates Wulfstan at York, St. John, i. 47.

| fo. 169.

Ordinatus ergo ut dicere ceperam, et sub pretextu honoris Eboraci ab Aldredo relictus; non pau | co tempore Wigorniam absentia sua contristauit. Eius interim ecclesie redditus usibus

Chapter 13.

| col. 2.

¹ See Introd., p. xxvi.² "consecratus . . . archi" over erasure³ *Gesta Pontificum* (ed. Hamilton), pp. 35-37. *Gesta Regum* (ed. Stubbs), p. 244.

And leaves
him there,
himself
usurping the
revenues of
Worcester

suis applicabat archiepiscopus. Postmodum reuerso uix septem uillas contulit; ceteras omnes pertinaciter usurpans. At Wlstanus qui nichil apud eum uiribus agendum nosset, ita paulatim precibus arrogantis animi cupiditatem contudit; ut cuncta preter duodecim uillas iuri ecclesie reformaret. Eas quo tempore et quali labore pater noster retraxerit; sequens stilus edocebit.¹

Chapter 14.
Wulfstan
dedicates a
church to
Bede.

Sed ut ad id quod exorsus fueram regrediar; Wlstanus in episcopum sullimatus, statim ad officia pietatis animum intendit. Nec mora in medio. Altera enim ordinationis die beato Bede dedicauit ecclesiam; pulchre illi prime dedicationis prebens principium; qui fuisset literature princeps de gente Anglorum. Eo enim die tam proflua predicatione populum irrorauit; ut non dubitaretur Wlstanum per spiritum sanctum eadem niti facundia; que quondam linguam mouisset in Beda. Nec solum tunc, sed et omni uita, ita fama predicationis plebem mulcebat; ut cateruatim eo uideres agmina confluere; quo auditum esset eum ecclesiam dedicare. Ipse quoque ultro rapiebat materiam; ut semper Christum sonaret, semper Christum auditoribus proponeret; postremo Christum etiam ut ita dicam repugnantem parti sue attraheret. Ita enim obstinate insistebat ieiuniis et uigiliis, ita uolentas orationes iniciebat celo; ut non in merito de ipso eiusque sequacibus dominus dixerit. *Regnum celorum uim patitur; et uolenti rapiunt illud.* Tanto equilibrio uitam informans; ut utramque professionem teneret, et neutram amitteret. Sic episcopus; ut religione non abiuraret monachum. Sic monachus; ut auctoritate representaret episcopum. Remotissimus ab hominum moribus: quos nostra producunt secula. Si consulere-tur; consilio-sissimus. Si rogaretur; facillimus. Cum aliquid esset impetrandum; absolute deliberans, celeriter pronuntians. Cum iudicandum; ad iusticiam propensior. Nec diuitem palpsans pro pecunia; nec pauperem pulsans pro penuria. Nulli adulationi deditus; nec sibi adulantibus gratus. Timore principum numquam a iusticia decedens; numquam amoris eorum honore aliquo nisi debito assurgens. Laudatus de bono; indulgebat dei gratie non sue arrogantie. Uituperatus; ignoscebat uituperantium errori; conscientie sue gratulatus. Quamquam id raro admodum fuerit; quia cum ipse omnem hominem amore caritatis foueret ut sobolem; uicissim omnes eum diligebant ut parentem. Cordis alacritate, et hilaritate faciei, superna prelibans gaudia; iam celestis leticie

| fo. 169b

St. Matt. xi.
12.

Combines
religion of
monk and
authority of
bishop.

| col. 2.

¹ See below, Book II, Chapter 1.

fontem, spe presumebat; quem nunc re indeficienter haurit et potat. Qui quamvis semper animo intimis hereret; non tamen eum segnem aut hebetem in extimis homines experti sunt. Plures in omni diocesi basilice per eum inchoate animose, et egregie perfecte. Preser | timque episcopalis sedis ecclesia; cui a fundamentis cepte supremam imposuit manum; ubi et numerus monachorum amplius; et ad normam institutionis regularis compositus. Sed hec et postmodum facta, et cotidie oculis apposita; compendiosam relationem desiderant. Quo circa ut in campo liberioris materie nostra decurrat oratio; reliquarum rerum ordinem expedito prose-

Activity in church-building.
| fo. 170.

Preter alia quibus presulatum ornat; etiam hoc habebat, diocesim sedulo peragraré; infantibus quod reliquum esset sacramentorum supplere; fidem populorum in bonum acuere. Oratorium quodcumque se uianti obtulisset, nulla uel precipiti, necessitate urgente preteribat insalutatum; quinimo ingressus, deo et sancto cuius esset templum, preces cum lacrimis semper ¹ ut quidam ait in statione paratis thurificabat. Hoc more quadam die dum ad comitatum euocatus, per Euesham iter | haberet; et socii obstreperent ² quominus ad ecclesiam diuenteret; audire supersedit. Itaque ingressus, ante sancti Egwini se prostrauit exuias; plurimus ibi pro sua suorumque salute precator. Facta oratione, monachos omnes salutatione sua et osculo dignatur; salubri etiam predicatione demulsit. Erat ex eodem conuentu monachus cui iamdudum diuturna febris internas depasta medullas, mori ³ ut putabatur affinem lecto apposuerat. His ⁴ ut adesse cognouit episcopum; misit nuntium, qui suas ad eum lacrimas deportaret; quatinus eius mereretur conspectum; priusquam efflaret supremum. Audito nuntio antistes aduentum non excusauit; sed etiam in socios itineris moram et diei processum pretendentes, hoc dictum retrorsit. Meum est creatoris mei de uisitando infirmo preceptum implere. Quod si uobis obnitentibus non impleuero, et hic decesserit; preuarica | ti mandati reus ero. Simulque cum dicto ad decumbentem ingressus, salutaribus promissis dolorem attenuauit; superstiti penitentiam abeunti uaticum pollicitus. Ille qui nichilo minus optaret, quam penitentia non peracta uita excedere; sancti applorauit misericordie; ut ei adeo impetraret commeatum uite. Mouit Wlstanum egrotantis miseria; et

Chapter 15.
Visitation of the diocese.

| col. 2.

On way to shire court

he heals sick monk at Evesham.
| fo. 170b.

¹ "lacrimis semper" over erasure

² "obstreperent" over erasure.

³ Sic MS. for "mori"

⁴ "His . . . pretendere." Wh. om.

desperatio iam conclamata. Totis ergo in misericordiam uisceribus profluus, leuansque iuxta propheticam ad deum cor cum manibus orauit. Deus omnipotens ineffabilis clementie per cuius indultum confessio peccata diluit ante cuius conspectum accusator sui custos¹ efficitur, te suppliciter deprecor, ut huius infirmi longius protelare digneris uitam, quatinus per penitenciam eius quandoque mundiolem recipias animam. Dixit; et orationem benedictione conduxit.² Utraque intrarunt in celi penetralia; ut non moraretur pius dominus, quod fidelis precabatur famulus. Statim enim ut egressus est episcopus; egressum est pariter quicquid dolebat languidus. Omnis infirmitas effugit; uigor salutis effusus, incommodum depulit. Nam continuo in pedes conatus poposcit pannos; clamauit calceos; lectum quem diu fouerat aspernatus. Putabant eum presentes alienata mente loqui; ut fit plerumque cum occupato cerebro et turbata rationis sede, cogitur infirmus nunc sua uerba iactare. Verumptamen perstitit Eigelricus, id enim monacho nomen, deum et episcopum pro sospitate reddita benedicere; idque aliis lecto relicto et sensu integro pretendere.

col. 2.

Chapter 16.
Harold
secures the
crown, but

| fo. 171.

the North
refuses to
submit.

Quinto³ anno collati Wlstano episcopatus, rex Edwardus fato fluctus,⁴ ingens seminarium discordie reliquit Anglie; hinc Haroldo, inde Willelmo comite Normannie, legitimo eam iure clamantibus. Et tunc quidem Haraldus uel fauore impetrata uel ui extorta corona; regnum paulominus totum obtinuit. Soli Northanhumbri magnum et gentile tumentes interim parere distulere; aquilonalem ceruicositatem australi ut dictitabant mollitie, subiugare non dignati. Animabat eos ad tirannidem, et insolentia sua ingentes eorum alebat spiritus, Tostinus eiusdem regis frater nec fortitudine degener; si ardens ingenium tranquillis studiis applicare maluisset. Qui postmodum in eadem prouincia, cum Haraldo rege Noreganorum, quem in suffragium ascuerat cesus⁵; penas inconsulte animositatis pependit. Sed hec posterius. Tunc uero Haraldus eo profecturus, ut contumaciam eorum, lenioribus curaret remediis; quandoquidem ferro frangere consilium non erat, sanctum uirum secum adduxit. Sic enim fama sanctitatis eius etiam⁶ abditissimas

¹ Sic MS, possibly error for "insons"

² "autem . . . condi" over erasure.

³ Correctly, the 4th year.

⁴ January 6th, 1066, "fluctus" is probably a scribal error for "functus."

⁵ Tostig and Harold Hadrada were killed at Stamford Bridge, September 25th, 1066.

⁶ "etiam" added in margin.

penetrauerat gentes; ut nullam non arrogantiam molliturus crederetur. Nec uero citra opinionem rei fuit euentus. Namque illi populi ferro indomabiles semper quiddam magnum a proauis spirantes; pro reuerentia episcopi in iura Haraldi facile concesserunt. Et profecto perseuerassent | nisi eos Tostinus ut dixi auerteret. Sane licet esset pontifex bonus mansuetus et lenis; non tamen ad improbos indulgebat blandiciis; sed uicia eorum arguens, minacibus infrendebat uerbis. Sin id procederet; aperto eis preconabatur uaticinio; quanto multandi essent supplicio. Nec facile unquam uel prudentem hominem coniectura; uel uatem prophetia fefellit. Multa et illo itinere et alias crebro; prescita et prenuntiata sunt.¹ Denique Haraldo palam testificatus est quanto et detrimento, et sibi et Anglie foret; nisi nequitias morum correctum ire, cogitaret. Viuebatur enim tunc pene ubique in Anglia perditis² moribus; et pro pacis affluentia deliciarum feruebat luxus. Ille uitiosos et presertim eos qui crinem pascerent insectari; quorum si qui sibi uerticem supponeret; ipse suis manibus comam lasciuientem secaret. Habebat ad hoc paruum cutellum; quo uel excrementa unguium uel sordes librorum purgare consueuerat. | Hoc cesariei libabat primitias, iniungens per obedientiam; ut capillorum ceterorum series, ad eandem complanaretur concordiam. Si qui repugnandum putarent; eis palam exprobrare mollitiem; palam mala minari. Futurum; ut qui erubescerent esse quod nati fuerant; qui emularentur capillorum fluxu feminas; non plusquam femine, ualerent ad defensandam patriam contra gentes transmarinas. Quod in aduentu Normanorum eodem anno claruisset; quis eat in inficias? Quorum quoniam attigimus tempora; hic primo libello statuatur meta. Ita enim concinnius fieri posse puto; si quid sanctissimus uir Anglorum tempore quid Norhmannorum fecerit, enucleate digressero. Colemanus enim in episcopatus eius electione decisionem primam fecit. Illud autem contentie nostre³ domini fratres non celauerim, me nomina testium pene omnium suppressisse; ne uocabulorum barbaries deli | cati lectoris saucietur aures. Nec minus alta uerba declamantiunculas quasdam; quas ille ab aliorum sanctorum gestis assumptas, prona deuotione inseruit. Sicut enim superius dixi quisquis rem per se satis emminentem, uerbis exaltare molitur; ludit operam. Qunimmo⁴ dum uult laudare infamat potius et

| col. 2.

Wulfstan
wins them
over.He foretells
national
disaster.
Prevalence
of vice.

| fo. 172b.

William of
Malmes-
bury's use of
Coleman's
work.

| col. 2.

¹ Added in margin.³ Sic. MS. for "conscientie uestre."² Durham MS. has "peruersis."⁴ Sic MS.

attenuat; quia uideatur non posse niti argumento proprio; si fulciatur patrocinio alieno. **Explicit liber primus.**

Incipit liber secundus.

*Book II.
Post-Con-
quest Period.*

*Chapter 1.
Wulfstan
honoured
by the Con-
queror.
| fo. 172.*

Claims from
Thomas abp.
York lands
taken by
Ealdred.

| col. 2.
Abp.
Thomas
claims the
see of
Worcester.

Interea Willelmus Normannie comes Angliam ueniens congressusque prelio cum Haraldo¹; cede ipsius et Anglorum strage regnum ditione sue asseruit. Ubi sicut prefatus sum claruit prophetie ueritas; quod tanta fuit miserorum prouincialium inbecillitas; ut post primam pugnam numquam communi umbone ad libertatem temptarint assurgere; quasi cum Haraldo robur omne deciderit patrie. Rex porro Willelmus, nullo unquam sanctum uirum affecit incommodo. Quininmo multo eum honore ueritus; | patrem et uenerabatur amore, et dignabatur nomine. Wlstanus ergo benignitatem temporum nactus, multas Wigornensis ecclesie possessiones, quas uel olim Danorum impudentia,² uel nuper Aldredi archiepiscopi potentia³ eliminauerat; usibus debitis reformauit. Sic ei regis fauebat dignatio; sic sanctitas rerum dominos ad se diligendum inuitat; sic religio aliis timendos ad sui reuerentiam inclinat. Aldredo⁴ sane successit in Eboraco Thomas⁵ Baiocensis canonicus; literarum scientia insignis; seculari prudentia non ignobilis, morum compositione multis preferendus; musica certe tunc temporis facile omnium primus.⁶ Contra hunc uir domini Wlstanus questionem instituit, de uillis ecclesie sue; quas ut predictum est ab Aldredo peruasas, nec unquam⁷ redditas, ille quasi legitimo sibi defensitabat iure. Thomas e diuerso non solum predia, non reddenda putabat; uerum etiam seu quod nouus Anglus esset, seu aliquorum susurrio⁸ persuasus; | Wigornensem ecclesiam sui iuris esse clamabat. Dominatum illius legitima successione sibi competere; antecessorum suorum fuisse.⁹ Eam causam magno egit impetu primo Anglie; mox etiam Lanfranco Cantuariensi archiepiscopo presente, apud Alexandrum papam Rome. Non tulit id Lanfranchus, qui priuilegium ecclesie sue periclitari sciret si taceret; sed ea respondit que magis iusticia quam dolor imperauit. Tum papa qui Lanfranchum ut pote

¹ Hastings, October 14th, 1066.

² See Intro., p xxiv.

³ See Bk. I, c. 12.

⁴ Died September 11th, 1069 (Chron. D. Plummer, I, 203-4; *Flor. Wig.* I, p. 3).

⁵ May 23rd, 1070 (*Flor. Wig.*, II, p. 6).

⁶ Cp. *Gesta Pont.* (Hamilton, p. 258), where among other things Malmesbury says "multa ecclesiastica composuit carmina."

⁷ MS. altered from "nunquam."

⁸ Sic MS. for "susurro."

⁹ See Intro., pp. xxviii-xxxi.

magistrum suum quondam grauaretur offendere ; sed nec Thomam uellet premere ; arbitrii a se remouens inuidiam ; cause cognitionem in concilium Anglie traiecit. Magno ergo conflictu et procerum Anglie conuentu ; res acta. Assistebat Thome Odo, immane quantum opulentus ; et qui diuitiis certaret cum rege quem continebat sanguine. Frater enim eius erat uterinus comes Cantie ; Baioarum episcopus. Hunc comitabatur uniuersitas magnatum ; pars precio redempta | pars adulationibus deprauata. Solus Lanfrancus partes tutabatur iusticie. Nam et rex in fauorem fratris uergebat pronus ; quamquam nonnichil in eius animo ponderaret Lanfrancus. Quid plura ? Consistunt partes ; uentilatur causa. Egreditur Thomas cum suis ; quid opponeret, quid oppositis responderet, compositurus. Wlstanus interim indulgebat sopori ; dulci quiete membra confotus. Alter reuersus multo sensuum acumine, multo uerborum flumine dixit. Ille a sociis expegefactus ; psalmos ore, preces corde ingeminat. Tandem iussus exire ut strictiori consilio responsum poliret ; cum paucis secum egressis, horam nonam incepit et percantauit ; illis porro referentibus, ut alia magis quam psalmos curaret, et id propter quod uenerat expediret ; respondit. Stulti nescitis quod dominus dixit ? Dum steteritis ante reges et presides nolite cogitare ; quomodo aut quid loqua | mini. Dabitur enim uobis in illa hora quid loquamini. Ipse idem creator dominus Iesus Christus qui hoc dixit, potest michi hodie sermonem conferre ; quo cause mee rectitudinem defendam ; et illorum tortitudinem ¹ destruam. Preclarum plane dictum hominis. Habebat tunc in manibus uitas beatorum pontificum Dunstani et Oswaldi, qui ambo quondam diuersis temporibus Wigornie presederant ; quorum ut imitabatur uitam, sic tuebatur sententiam. Et mira prorsus oculorum fidei perspicacia, illos se coram profitebatur cernere ; quo ² cause non dubitabat assistere. Ita ingressus ; causam non difficulter obtinuit. Siquidem interroganti regi quid in suo inuenisset consilio, cum respondisset consilium meum in uobis est ; continuo ille, *cor quippe regis in manu dei*, edictum annitente Lanfranco proposuit, episcopum Wigornensem Cantuariensi archiepiscopo sub | iectum esse debere ; nichil in illum iuris Eboracensi competere. Quin etiam duodecim uillas quas Aldredus usque ad diem mortis suis assignauerat comodis, indulisit Wigornensi ecclesie ; regia sane liberalitate archiepiscopo data prediorum compensatione. Cumulauit miraculum, quod in

Dispute
settled in an
English
council.
| fo. 172b.

Gesta Pont.,
§ 143.

Wulfstan re-
lies on diuine
aid.

St. Mark xiii.
9, 11.
| col 2.

Decision
against
Thomas.
Prov. xxi, 1.
| fo. 173.

¹ Wharton printed "fortitudinem."

² Sic MS. for "quos." The Durham abridgment has the correct reading.

Visitation of
see of Chester
committed
to Wulfstan
by Lanfranc.

eodem concilio apud Pedridan¹ habito; episcopatus ei Cestrensis a Lanfranco archiepiscopo; uisitatio comissa est. Ea enim prouintia que habet tres pagos, Cestrensem,² Crobernensem,³ Tefordensem,⁴ erat adhuc propter longinquitatem Normannis inaccessa; et propter barbariem inpacata. Ea res diu fuit sermonis materia hominibus; affluentiam in eo dei gratie mirantibus. Duos enim episcopatus decedens concilio reportabat; qui unum quasi amissurus uenerat. Huius narrationis Colemannus testem citat Walchelinum⁵ Wintoniensem episcopum⁶; in uirtutibus tunc temporis Lanfranco sed longo interuallo proximum. Eum siquidem plusquam semel narrentem audiui⁷; quomodo uir sanctus pene solus, tot optimatibus et ipsis magno elimatis acumine, obnitentibus, uictor abierit.

| col. 2.

Chapter 2.
Wulfstan
encourages
Aldwin at
Malvern.
Gest. Pont.,
§ 145.

Sed hec hactenus. Nunc ad enarranda quedam que per Wlstanum Christus ostendit miracula; uelificante spiritu sancto in altum laxemus carbasa. Prophetice sanctitatis eius multa fuere indicia; quarum uel duo perstrinxisse suffecerit. Aldwinus quidam habitu monachus⁸ literarum expers, cum congregationem religionis apud Maluernum adoriri conatus esset; post aliquot annos immensitate laboris deterritus, cepto desistere cogitabat. Sed quia preter⁹ conscientiam¹⁰ patris diocesi¹¹ eius decedere temerarium esset; eo adito difficultatem rei et tenuitatem pecunie sanctitati eius applorauit. Uelle se Ierosolimam iter moliri; ut si alios nequiret; saltem se ipsum dei seruitio manciparet. Non ait pontifex crede mihi hoc enim sollempni iuramento utebatur¹²; quia si scires quantam religionem deus in illo loco futuram preuidit; multum gauderes. Perstitit ille hoc nisus oraculo; et ueritatem uaticinii sicut hodieque uidetur executus est sudore proprio.¹³

| fo. 173b.

Chapter 3.
He foretells
greatness of
St. Peter's,
Shrewsbury.

Non est dissimile quod sequitur. Occasionem ut dixi uisitandi Cestrensem episcopatum nactus¹⁴; crebroque per Scrobesberiam transiens, in oratorio sancti Petri¹⁵ tunc illius urbis minimo, fre-

¹ R. Parret, Somerset. ² Cheshire. ³ Shropshire. ⁴ Staffordshire.

⁵ D. Walkelinum. H. Walclinum. ⁶ May, 1070-January, 1098.

⁷ Sic MS. for "audiuit." ⁸ "quidam habitu mo" over erasure.

⁹ MS. altered from "preterus." ¹⁰ "con" added in margin.

¹¹ Sic MS. for "diocesis."

¹² Compare *Epitome of Benedict of Aniane*, Ed. Napier (E.E.T.S., Vol. 150, p. 119), "Iuramentum aliud nullum proferat nisi crede mihi."

¹³ See *Introd.*, p. xli.

¹⁴ See above, c. 1.

¹⁵ The oratory of St. Peter here mentioned must be the "lignea capella" which had been granted to Odelirius, the father of the historian Ordericus

quentes orationum protelabat excubias. Mirantibus urbicis, et causam sedulo percuntantibus, cur posthabita quam sanctam Mariam nominabant¹ ecclesia illud oratorium suis nobilitaret precibus; respondisse constat episcopum. Crede mihi hoc oratorium quod modo uilipenditis; erit in posterum locus gloriosissimus totius Scrobesbirie, et gaudium omnis provincie; eumque et diligitis uiui, et ibi iacebitis mortui. Hec ille dixit tunc; sed rem | non infra promissum impletam esse nunc est celebratius quam | *col. 2.*
ut necesse sit ad hoc inculcandum nostrum spatium stilum.

Contulerat² diuina dignatio uirtutum gratiam sancto; ut more *Chapter 4.*
priscorum patrum in depellendis ualitudinibus esset egregius. He heals
Merito ut qui uitæ illorum emularetur exempla; signorum mereretur demoniac
insignia. Quorum aliqua que nostram non effugere memoriam, woman at
compendio transcurram. Et quoniam superius de monacho Evesham.
apud Euesham³ sanato dixi; nunc de regionis eiusdem muliere
castigata breuitate miraculum subnectam. Erat enim eius
provincie incola femina; cui non inops substantia, familiares lares
impleuerat; sed nequam spiritus mentem prudentia uacauarat.⁴
Et paulatim quidem desipientem pertemptans aditum; procedente
tempore dementia extremam intrauerat. Iamque ad hoc miserie
processerat; ut relictis parentum affectibus, affinium necessi-
tudinibus | per deuia camporum uel quo eam tulisset impetus | *fo. 174.*
uagaretur. Hoc parentes qui cetera moleste uidissent, non feren-

Vitalis, by Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury. It lay "ad orientalem portam . . . Scrobesburie . . . super fluuium qui Mola dicitur, ibique in Sabuinam dilabitur." Acting on the advice of Odelirius, states Ordericus, Earl Roger in 1083 took a vow in the church of St. Peter that he would found and endow an abbey in that place (Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Ed. Le Prevost, Vol. II, pp. 415 seq.). Roger's charter of foundation reads "Sciatis me construxisse monasterium in suburbio civitatis Salopesberiae in ecclesia sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quae antiquitus ibi fundata erat" (*Monasticon*, III, p. 519). The monastery was colonized by Benedictines from Séz (Orderic, *op. cit.* and *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 306), and it is clear that operations had begun in 1086. In Domesday Book (*V.C.H.*, Shropshire, I, p. 310) it is recorded that "the earl (Roger) has granted to the abbey which he is forming (*facit*) there 39 burgesses," and further that "in Shrewsbury city Earl Roger is making an abbey and has given it to the minster of St. Peter, where there was a parish of the city" (*V.C.H.*, Shrop., I, p. 311, col. 2).

¹ MS. altered from "nominabatur." Probably the church of St. Mary mentioned in Domesday (*V.C.H.*, p. 310) as the holder of 1 virgate in the city.

² Wharton omitted this chapter.

³ See Book I, Chapter 15.

⁴ Sic MS. for "uacauarat"

Physicians
and exorcists
had failed.

| col. 2.

The prior of
Evesham
consulted.

| fo. 174b.

Chapter 5.
A rustic of
Cleeve pos-
sessed by a
devil

dum rati; comprehensam uinculis innexuerunt. Nimium id dure; dixerit aliquis. Sed enim seueritatem secuta est misercordia: et quo maior erat miseria; maiora uenabantur remedia. Conducti medici; qui noto artificio morbum fugarent. Adducti presbiteri; qui salubri exorcismo¹ animum reuocarent. Inter quos prior Eueshammensis,² qui Colemanno huiusce rei fuit testis et index; sicut ceteri, spem suam frustratus abscessit. Nam utrique et medici et clerici, omnibus conatibus consumptis; illi antidota isti exorcismos, uentis exposuerunt. Verumptamen cognatis non paruo res constitit; quin fortunas suas magno impensarum emungerent dispendio. Inopes ergo spei, exules consilii; ad priorem de quo predixi reuertuntur. Eum quia bone uite | hominem nossent; quid opus sit facto consulunt. Siquid spei reliquum sciret ediceret; facturis procul dubio, nisi uires suas excederet. Ille librato consilio; exhibendam censet Wlstanu episcopo. Fidere se itemque illos debere; quod nulla ualitudo ante illum auderet subsistere; qui se gauderet creatoris sui iussis subicere. Dicto probato, ad episcopum perrectum; nec difficulter quod optabatur impetratum. Mox enim ut mulierem uidit; miserie patientis medullitus indoluit. Calamitatis inmanitas euocauit planctum; planctus inuenit remedium. Protenta ergo manu benedictione; femina³ impertiuit; nescio quid archane orationis immurmurans. Nulla in medio mora. Statim resumpsit egrota sensum, statim sapuit sanum; affines cognouit, episcopum benedixit. Ipse diuinum munus, uerbis salutaribus prosecutus est. Iret cum pace domum; benediceret non Wlstanum | sed deum. Virtutes amaret; uitiis modum poneret. Pudiciam non perderet; ne deterius aliquid ei contingeret. Nec potuerunt⁴ esse ieiuna predicationis semina; que tam peritus seuit agricola. Mulier enim post modicum sanctimonialis accepit uelum; tota uita dei preceptis post habuit seculum.

Similem⁵ uirtutem in simili morbo alias exhibuit. Clive⁶ uocant uillam accole, in pago Glocestrensi. Mansitabat ibi agrestis uite et condicionis homo; qui cotidiano manuum exercitio non

¹ Prayers used by exorcists at this date may be found in the Leofric Missal (Ed. Warren), pp. 232-235.

² The names of the priors of Evesham at this date are unknown.

³ Sic MS. for "benedictionem femine."

⁴ MS. altered from "petuerunt."

⁵ Wharton omitted this chapter.

⁶ Bishop's Cleeve, co. Gloucester, a manor of the Church of Worcester, assessed at 30 hides in Domesday (Rec. Com., fo. 165a, col. 1).

egre uitam toleraret. Hunc tam infestus afflauerat spiritus; ut proxima queque uel manibus discerperet; uel uastis molaribus corroderet, in remotiora dentes moleret; ut torqueret conuitia; iacularetur sputa. Ultima necessitas indigenas consciuit; ut non putarent negligendum, quod uidebant perniciosum. Illos presertim, quorum pro cognati | one seu uicinitate intererat; ut | *col. 2.* miserum miserarentur. Crudis ergo loris renitentem innexuerunt. Sed ea ille uel mordicus apprehensa conscidit¹; uel leui negotio ut stuppea fila dirupit. Tum illi maiori uiolentie dignos nexus commenti, ferreis cathenis reclamantem inuolunt²; et posti uel sponde lecti affigunt. Ita pressus inconditos ruditus potius quam clamores emittebat; adeo ut longe positos rabido strepitu exterreret. Crederes ex ore uno loqui exercitum; tanta erat uariarum confusio uocum. Hos dolores, affines hominis conquesti sunt antistiti; in eadem sui iuris uilla manenti. Rogant ut misero presentiam non negaret suam; qui pre sarcine importabilitate ad eum nequiret afferri. Nichil sanctus cunctatus; et ab imo pectore affectuosa ducens suspiria; illos preeuntes ad domum comitatus est. Patiens uero pontifice uiso, totis intremis | cens membris, | *fo. 175.* diros stridores intonare, iniurias euomere; patulo rictu, sputorum diluio magno in sanctum bachatus hiatu. Tanto incomodo is visited by Wulfstan and cured. sacerdos indoluit; et expansis in celum manibus orauit. Domine Iesu Christe qui per mortem tuam genus humanum a diaboli potestate liberasti, qui legionem demonum ab homine fugatam in porcos abire siuisti; libera hunc hominem a diabolo, et redde ipsi rectum intellectum. Conuersusque ad demonem; discede inquit inmunde spiritus ab hac imagine dei; et da honorem spiritui sancto. Mirum est dicere, mirum est credere; quod sequitur. Confestim qui fuerat mentis inops, efferos animos exuit; et felleos desinens intorquere oculos resipuit. Conualuitque in horâs sanitas; et episcopo ad sua | redeunte; ille omnino renuntiauit dementie. | *col. 2.* Idemque post hec non paucis uiuens annis, miraculorum beati uiri etiam post eius obitum testis fuit, tanto fidelius; quanto expertus in se felicius.

Alio³ tempore ad eandem post aliquot dies uenturum uillam, *Chapter 6.* nuntius a dapifero missus preuenit; necessaria sumptuum expediturus. Erat autem ex eo genere hominum quos armigeros uocant; A squire going to Cleeve becomes insane. malo auspicio iter ingressus. • Iam enim aliquantum progressum,

¹ "s" interlined.² Sic MS. for "inuolunt."³ Wharton omitted this chapter.

spiritus inquietus arripiens, dire inquietabat dei iudicio; non numquam occulto, numquam iniusto. Itaque mentis impos, fugiensque hominum consortia, in siluam que proxima erat euasit; ibi noctes diesque moratus. Sed enim indignitas rei accendit agrestium animos; ut eum comprehen | sum arctissimis funibus alligarent. Verumptamen non multo post, incautiorem nactus custodiam, frustratusque uincula; saltum repetiuit. Tanto fuit incolis terrori; ut nichil magis cauerent, quam illuc accedere; ubi scirent illum esse. Siue quod aliquem eorum confecerat dampno; siue quod sit a natura comparatum, ut eos homines horreant; qui humanitatem abiurant. Interea uenit episcopus, sane in noctem uergente uespera; quia tardiuscule quam hora poscebat, progressus fuerat. Iam ergo discumbenti hominis miseria est nuntiata; magna seruientium querimonia. Sacerdos nichil moratus pro more suo cunctis pietatis indixit officium; pro paciente preces fundere, et pater noster dicere. Hoc enim consuetudinis sibi ascuerat; ut quocumque loco quacumque hora excessum alicuius audierit uel incomodum; statim presentes moneret orare; uel ut defunctus in | pace quiesceret, uel egrotus infirmitatem euaderet. Miranda clementia Christi; predicandâ gratia uiri. Eadem nocte profugus adolescens exuto mentis stupore; uillam rediit nullo reuocante. Eadem nocte contubernio se curialium, inmiscuit; nullumque deinceps quoad uixit dementie indicium dedit.

fo. 175b.

Sanity
restored by
Wulfstan.

| col. 2.

Chapter 7.
A destitute
leper from
Kent mong
the paupers
fed daily by
the bishop at
Kempsey.

| fo. 176.

Uilla¹ est episcopatus Kemeseŷa² dicta; in qua pro necessariorum oportunitate manebat. Venerat eo ex Cantia pauper; et inter alios cotidianam stipem capientes assederat. Miser, cui preter egestatis incomodum morbus irrepserat, quem regium uocant³; et ita lenta tabe, omnes artus infecerat; ut non diceres eum uero uti corpore; sed uiuo circumferri cadauere. Horrori erat omnibus eum cernere; qui totus uirulenta stillabat sanie. Fastidio sermones eius audire; qui non putaretur loqui sed raucum ululare. Denique dispensator episcopi Artur⁴ | cuius testimonio et hoc et quedam alia nituntur, sepe ab eo rogatus ne colloquium suum despiceret; non semel refugit. Tandem adiurationem

¹ Wharton omitted this chapter.

² Kempsey, co. Worc, an episcopal manor assessed at 24 hides in Domesday Book (V.C.H., Worc., I, p. 288, col. 1).

³ The identification of the "royal disease" (sometimes interpreted as jaundice) with leprosy is of interest.

⁴ D. and H. "Arthurus."

nominis dei reueritus, substitit; et copiam loquendi fecit. Ille summmuratur; et uix intellectus anhelat. Oriundum se Cantie; plenum infanda¹ ualitudine ut uideret esse. Ter manifesto conuentum sompnio; ut spe sanitatis uenerabili se presentaret episcopo. Hac gratia uenisse. Ut hec domino insinuaret: per deum orare. Suggestit minister postulata; sed non grate ab eo auditus est; qui humane glorie nollet obnoxius esse. Quinimmo non suum esse respondit; ullum presertim tantum attemptare miraculum. Abiret ergo, et infirmo uictum uestemque preberet; ut saltem huius compensatione humanitatis consolaretur, fatigationem itineris. Ita cassa fuisset suggestio; nisi Eilmeri² presbiteri successisset sollicitudo. Huic pro uite reuerentia, sanctitatis | post Wlstanum profecto palma cessisset; nisi eam seueritate grauasset. Constat enim beatum episcopum hilariores sepe abruptisse sermones; si presbiter uel non coniueret uultu, uel argueret nutu. Ceterum ad morum congruentiam ita caste sobrius; ut nichil uere in eo lacerare inuidia, nichil falso laudare amicitia posset. Harum rerum contuitu, presul eum granditer suspiciebat; missam eius cotidie inhianter audiens. Ambo enim emulo religionis contendebant officio; ut nullum diem preterirent, sine misse sacrificio. Is igitur egrotum suscipiens hospicio; pio blandiciarum delinibat obsequio. Commentus est etiam; quomodo episcopo miraculum quod palam extorquere non posset, furtim surriperet. Eius fuit occasio aqua; qua post missam sacras dilueret manus. Hanc presbiter ministro supradicto datam, iussit infundi balneo egroti. Lauit | leprosus, uisu horridus; carne maculosus. Sed mirum in modum, continuo pustularum tumor desedit; letiferum uirus effluxit; et ne plura; omnis caro in puerilem puritatem refluuit. Quin etiam impetigo et scabies capitis abolita; cesaries capillis succrescentibus reformata.

Arthur the steward begs Wulfstan to cure him.

Gest. Pont., § 141. | col. 2.

Refusal of the bishop circumvented by Eilmer the priest.

| fo. 176b.

Lundoniam³ ad curiam profisciscens⁴; apud uillam Wicumbe⁵ dictam, ueteris tecti ruinam minantis hospicio successit. Mane cum iam abscessum meditaretur; domus tota crepitare, tignaue cum trabibus deorsum uergere ceperunt. Turbati seruientes,

Chapter 8. Miraculous escape of bishop at Wycombe.

¹ MS. altered from "inflanda."

² Probably identical with "Eilmer the priest," whose death is entered in the Calendar in MS. Bodl. Hatton 113 on April 26th. In the *Gesta Pontificum* (p. 282) Malmesbury inadvertently calls him "Egelricus."

³ Wharton omitted this chapter.

⁴ Sic MS for "profisciscens."

⁵ Either High Wycombe or West Wycombe, co. Bucks. The medieval road from London to Worcester passed through Wycombe.

adunum omnes foras exilierunt; solum dominum intus obliti. Adeo inconsiderata formido, mentes eorum perculerat. Iam uero foris positi, magnis eum inclamabant uocibus; ut exeundo sibi consuleret; ante quam edes tota corrueret. Nemo enim periculo suo salutem illius mercari uolens; ut eum educe | ret, intrare presumebat. Sed ille tanti discriminis inmanitate constantior; ultro etiam clamoribus arguebat. Modice fidei; putatis quod me ruina opprimat, dixit; nec priusquam animalia sarcinis inpositis promoueri uidisset; pedem domo extulit. Cum uero egressus esset; statim horrifico fragore domus tota concussa, parietes et tectum, in unum ruderum cahos confudit. Miro prorsus et pulchro signo; ut sancto intus posito domus casum suum suspenderet; eo uero egresso, continuo debilitati cederet.

| col. 2.

Chapter 9.
Wulfstan
allowed by
Remigius to
consecrate a
church at
Wycombe.
| fo. 177.

Hic¹ ponit miraculum Colemannus, in eadem exhibitum uilla; annis quidem posterius; sed ueneratione grandius. Contexendas ergo res putauit communione pagine; que licet dissiderent tempore, congruerent dignitate. Id miraculum eiusmodi fuit, erat ibi uir Sæptlin² surnomine; opibus ex facili confluentibus fortunatus; et in sancti reuerentiam pronus. Denique sumptibus suis edificatam ecclesiam a nullo nisi ab eo consecrari uolebat. Tunc enim demum dedicatam putaret; si Wlstanus dedicasset. Fluctuabat autem sententie incerto; quod fieri non posset inconsulto diocesis illius episcopo. Sed sustulit fluctus animi licencia; facilitate Remigii Lincolniensis episcopi³ cum gratia impetrata. Die igitur dicta, uenit episcopus; et dedicationi ecclesie sermoni

¹ Wharton omitted this chapter.

² Sic MS. for "Sæptlin." The letters "w" and "r" in Swertlin's name were evidently written in O.E. characters in the MS. from which the scribe of the Cott. MS. made his copy. He therefore wrote "Sæpt linsur nomine." The name Sweartling, apparently a diminutive of a Scandinavian name containing the element *Suarir*, is not found before the Conquest, but was borne by a moneyer of Wallingford in the reign of William I. Swertlin of the above narrative is probably identical with Suarting who with Herding, possibly his brother, held of the King, in 1086, Bradenham (*Bradeham*), a small village adjoining West Wycombe. It was assessed at 2 hides and valued at 20s. It may be added that in the two entries immediately following that referring to Bradenham it is stated that Suerting held of the King 2 hides and a virgate in Cheddington (in Yardley hundred) and 2½ hides in Caldecot, near Newport Pagnell, while the entry immediately preceding Bradenham records that Harding held 1½ hides of the King in Horsenden, adjacent to Bradenham (*V.C.H.*, Bucks, I, p. 276, col. 2).

³ 1067-May, 1092. Buckinghamshire was part of the medieval diocese of Lincoln.

ad populum confirmationi puerorum, sollicitam impendit operam. Quibus explicitis; domum uiri pransurus ingreditur. Tum mater familias quoniam sexus sui uerecundia, et episcopi reuerentia inhiheret cum eo colloquium serere; Colemanni auribus dolorem suum exponit. Pedissequam suam iniquo morbo tabescere; ut pote cuius capud infando tumore lasciuiat; lingua extra palati concauum promineat. Linguam ipsam ita protuberare; ut magis uideatur esse bouis quam hominis. Victum ei omnem negatum; et siquid sumatur, non esse cibum dentibus commasticatum; sed potum cocleari infusum. His acceptis monachus quod sua intererat fecit; mittens decumbenti aquam, quam eo die pater ad consecrationem ecclesie benedixerat. Nec eo contentus; rem episcopo insinuauit. Habebat ille unum ex aureis; quos ab urbe quondam Bizantio, modo Constantinopoli bizantios uocant. Is aureus erat de lancee cuspidem percussus; que perfidi persecutoris manu impacta, domini saluatoris perforauit latus. Huius intinctione aquam sanctificatam muliercule direxit; salubrem antea fuisse multis expertus. Medicabilem potum sanitas matura subsequitur; sicut matrona eidem Colemanno post aliquot dies, et ipsa iurata, et testibus nixa innotuit. | *col. 2.*

Maid-servant
healed of a
tumour.

E¹ Wigornia in uillam quadam uice uiam carpebat, extremus ut semper agminis² sui; ne psalmos ullius colloquium interpolaret. Casu adequitabat ei Colemanus. Interea conspicatus cecum eminens inclamantem; innuit monacho, ut elemosinam porrigeret; id ipsum a se postulari arbitratus. At cecus qui altioris leticie spem animo conceperat; equitanti se adiungens Colemanno, calamitates ingerit suas. Oraret pro deo episcopum; ut paulisper contineret gradum. Manifesta sibi sompni uisione ostensum; quod oculis lumen refundere posset, si uellet. Suggestioni ceci serenus predicabilis uiri, assensus accurrit; et rem episcopo precibus mixtis allegauit. Refugit ille diu; multumque causatus non esse meriti sui miracula facere. Sed quantum erat, quod a sancto pectore non posset Colemanus extorquere; Nec enim prius abstinit, pie uiolentus, et laudabiliter importunus; donec ex equitae³ peditem faceret. Ita super oculos ceci psalmo *ad te leuauit* cantato, et adiecto crucis signaculo; reliquum uie contendit explere. Post hec octo dierum fluxit intercapedo; cum Colemanus Wigorniam regressus, illum quem liquerat cecum, repperit

Chapter 10.
| fo. 177b.
Blind man
healed by
Wulfstan
when
travelling.

| *col. 2.*
Ps. xxiv
(now xxv.).

¹ Wharton omitted this chapter.

² "i" interlined.

³ *Sic MS.*

perspicua oculos luce inuestitum. Que res in laudem dei, tum illi tum aliis qui nouerunt et mentes accendit; et ora resoluit.

Chapter 11.
Wulfstan
heals
Gunnild,
daughter of
King Harold.

| fo. 178.

Huic¹ miraculo illud proxima similitudine accedit; quod Uuiltonie² fecit. Uenerat eo; an quod eum animus ferret, uel quod uia conduceret; incertum michi. Frequenti sanctimonialium exceptus leticia inter eas assedit. Erat eiusdem congregationis femina Gunnildis³ dicta; regis Haraldi de quo superius sermo se intulit filia. Huius oculos adeo infestus tumor inuaserat; ut et moles palpebrarum uisum obduceret; et massa carnea oppleret. Hinc querimonia delata pontifici; iussa est adduci. | Nam et memorie paterne non nichil deferendum arbitratus; dignam uirtutibus suis misericordiam exhibuit, totis promiseria mulieris uisceribus turbatus. Oculis igitur signum crucis pretendit; et ne multo uerborum circumitu citum retardem miraculum; continuo detectis et erectis palpebris lucem serenam infudit.

Chapter 12.
The Con-
queror's
courts.

Rex Willelmus consuetudinem induxerat; quam successores aliquandiu tritam, postmodum consenescere permisere. Ea erat; ut ter in anno cuncti optimates ad curiam conuenirent,⁴ de necessariis regni tractaturi; simulque uisuri regis insigne; quomodo iret gemmato fastigiatus diademate. Loca et tempora curie dicere; non est presentis materie. Huius igitur moris necessitate uir sanctus astrictus; Wintoniam ante Pascha ire maturabat. Iacebat in semita homo natalibus Francus; quem interna viscerum exagitabant tormenta. Volutabant⁵ eum in diuersum immensi

¹ Wharton omitted this chapter.

² Wilton, co. Wilts.

³ Freeman was unacquainted with this passage. In his appendix on the children of Harold (*N.C.*, IV, p. 752, Note M) he quotes Ellis (who used Capgrave's abridgment) for the story of the cure of Gunhild by Wulfstan, but does not mention where it took place. It is therefore not surprising that Professor Marc Bloch made no reference to her residence at Wilton in the valuable introduction to his edition of Osbert de Clare's Life of Edward the Confessor (*Analecta Bollandiana*, Tom. xli, 1923). Professor Bloch argues from internal evidence that the anonymous biography of the Confessor (Luard, *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, pp. 389-435) was written between 1103 and 1120 at the nunnery of Wilton (*Anal.*, pp. 39-41). The presence of Gunnild, the niece of Queen Edith the "heroine" of the biography, at Wilton (she may have been alive when the writer was at work), goes far to explain that "survival of strong Godwinist feeling in ecclesiastical circles of the twelfth century" which caused Professor Powicke to accept Bloch's conclusions with some hesitation (*E.H.R.*, xxxix, p. 628).

⁴ Cp. the famous passage in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E), an. 1086, Plummer, I, p. 219.

⁵ "Volutabant . . . feliciter." Wh. om.

dolores; sicut anguis | uarios se torquet in orbes. Iactabat eiulatus flebiles; et plangoribus ipsum contristabat et uerberabat¹ aerem. Quibus plerique uiantum adducti, piam quidem querelam impendebant; set medelam non² poterant. Uenit tandem in tempore, uenit opportune Wlstanus; qui deturbaret incomodum, afferret remedium. His ubi uocem dolentis et paulominus ut uidebatur animam agentis accepit; mox equo descendit. Secuti socii exemplum concitatis saltibus ad humum uenere. Iam uero infirmus quadrupedantium auditio fremitu; quid esset percuntatus ab his qui lingue commercia nossent; Wlstani episcopi comitatum esse addidit. Accepto Wlstani uocabulo quod obscurum nec apud Francos erat, continuo uires resumpsit; et quantis poterat anime conatibus, benedictionem efflagitauit. Nec fuit impetratu difficile; quod fuerat fidei postulasse. Aquam | igitur benedictam in uase corneo decumbenti porrexit; acclinis ad eum quidem corpore, set erectus mente. Caritas enim refocillabat eum poculo; set pulsabat celum oratio. Surrexit homo incolumis; eodemque momento et uni fuit terminus orationis, et alteri repulsa ualitudinis. Denique statim iter ad Uuintoniam cum ceteris, sicut incepit alacriter; ita consumauit feliciter.

Wulfstan
going to
Winchester
heals a
Frenchman.
| col. 2.

| fo. 178b.

Uicus³ Uuigornensi diocesi attinet, Uuic ab antiquo dictus; ubi quod mirum est dicere; de dulcibus stagnis conficiuntur saline publice.⁴ Huius erat mulier indigena, cuius natales ita natura formauerat; ut nec multum diues altum tumeret, nec multum humilis humi reperet. Eiusdemque mediocritatis sortita maritum; pro fortuna mediocriter uicitabat. Set enim nulla unquam inconcussa felicitas; nulla unquam sine turbine leticia egris arridet mortalibus. Huius quoque domesticos | successus interpolauit repentinus morbus. Morbus qui non solum unum membrum, sed etiam omnes artus premeret; qui omnes articulos nodositate quadam constringeret. Accreuit indies auctior labes; et mulierem grabato inuexit. Ipsa interim, nec minus maritus medicorum opem in modicis sumptibus sollicitabant. Illi sedulo instare, arti sue non deesse; quod minus possent facto, promissis

Chapter 13.
Segild, a
woman of
Droitwich
afflicted with
arthritis,

| col. 2.

¹ MS. altered from "reuerberabat."

² "non" repeated and cancelled.

³ Wharton omitted this chapter.

⁴ The salt industry at Droitwich was of great importance to Worcester-shire and the surrounding regions. Mr. Round writes aptly: "It is not too much to say that Droitwich pervades the survey of the shire." (*V.C.H.*, Worc., I, p. 268.)

cured by a
letter from
Wulfstan.

| fo. 179

supplere; commeatum deliberandi sepius frustrati. Euacuabat enim omnem industriam, attenuabat omnem efficaciam fortuna; uel quod magis crediderim celestis providentia; huiusmodi opus antistitis sui fore speculata. Iamque multo tempore in penum congesta defecerant; cum illa humana ope desperata ad Christi fugit suffragia. Consulte et provide. Affuit enim deus ipsius inspirator consilii; ostenditque per uisum, quod liberaretur in-commodo; si literas suscipere mereretur, a Wlstando | episcopo. Habebat ipsa in curia filium; Colemanii discipulatus traditum. Qua familiaritate nixa legatio; episcopales mature infudit auditus. Per Frewinum¹ igitur tunc diaconum postea monachum, uirum magne fidei constantisque leticie; directum scriptum huiusmodi. Sanet te Jesus Christus Segild²; hoc enim uocabulum matrone. Que alacri fide suscepit munus antistitis; non multo post causam salutis experta. Primo enim maxime dolentibus locis applicita dolorem sedabat scedula; mox omnem morbum depulit, uigorem refudit.

Chapter 14.
Care of the
diocese: ser-
mons and
masses.

| col. 2.

Baptism and
confirma-
tion.

Exuberabat³ ei uariis de causis miraculorum gratia, sedulam operam dante domino; quatinus mundo innotesceret; quam grato fidelis famulus eum demereretur obsequio. Semper enim tota uita curam corporis illis posthabuit rebus; quibus conciperet terrenorum fastidium; quibus hauriret appetitum celestium. Quando-cumque dioceses circumiret; nunquam sine | missa, sine sermone populum dimitteret; id crebro et diligenter faceret. Nunquam uictui die indulsit; quoad usque quancumque numeri pueros undecumque aduectos consignasset. Hoc a primo solis ortu ad lucem occiduam actitabat; non solum diebus hibernis, sed et solibus estiuis. Sepe illum duo millia ut parum, sepe tria et quod excurrit, uno die confirmasse; non perfunctoriis testibus approbatur. Hoc non modo in iuuentute, cum et uiridis etas, et ipsa bene faciendi uoluptas ad laborem uocaret; uerum etiam cum iam gemmea canities niue capud aspergeret; et ipse tenui ualitudine uix corporis uiribus animum sequeretur. Stupori erat omnibus; quod octo plerumque clericis qui crismatorium ferrent uicissim, fatigationi succumbentibus; ipse indefessus persisteret. Fallebat nimirum tantos labores amor dei; ut mens⁴ senectuti non

¹ See also Book II, c. 21, and Book III, c. 4.

² D "Segyld"; H. "Sigelda."

³ "Exuberabat . . . obsequio." Wh. om.

⁴ "ut mens . . . munus expleuit." Wh. om.

cederet; sed labente corpore uictrix euaderet. Hunc porro | cum | *fo. 179b.*
 ut dixi semper inops cibi morem transigeret; semel apud
 Glocestram uenerabilis abbatis Serlonis¹ precibus deuictus omisit.
 Dictis enim ex more missis, iam ad pueros egressurum, idem abbas
 conuenit; ut eo die refectarium fratrum presentia nobilitaret sua.
 Plurima esse; quare roganti durus esse non deberet. Primo; ut
 pause acquiescens, sanitati consuleret. Secundo, ne uideretur
 aspernari, quod seruorum dei uellet deuotio; quorum uoluntati
 non nunquam ipse dominus Iesus placido se indulgeret assensu.
 Huc accedere; quod interim puerorum turba digereretur in seriem;
 quo haberet ipse itum et reditum expeditiorem. Paruit his antistes;
 certatim omnibus annitentibus inflexus. Interea uulgus in cimiterio
 multa inter se serere, nunc hoc nunc illud quod in buccam uenisset
 dicere. Quorum unus adolescens cui etatis lubricum petulantie
 uerba suggereret; | sub inde talia iactitabat. Quid expectatis
 episcopum; qui cum monachis uentrem implet suum? Immo
 agite; si quis infantem suum consignari desiderat, ad me ueniat.
 Simulque luto arrepto frontem proximi infantis illiniens, obcena
 murmurauit uerba. Processit in ulteriora uesania; tali clamore
 fatuum factum prosecuta, frontem isti ligate; consignatus est.
 Hactenus cachinni, hactenus lasciuia; set non impune. Quamuis
 enim et factum et dictum adolescentuli excepisset risus populi;
 celestis tamen ultio non defuit; que et donum suum, et famuli
 obsequium derisum indigne tulit. Mox enim auctor arrogantie
 palam omnibus furere² cepit; illo proculdubio mouente sensus
 exterius; ad cuius nutum interiores iuuenis exagitarat affectus.
 Ita miser crinem rotare; rictus torquere; ad maceriam capud
 inpingere. Plaudit plebs miraculo; et sullata in altum laude
 seuientem eliminat loco. Ille incerto gressu effreni cursu nunc
 huc nunc illuc uagatus; in puteum uel potius cenum | cimiterio
 proximum saltu delatus est, ubi profecto euomisset animam;
 nisi cognatorum diligentia funibus coercitum portasset ad diuer-
 sorium. His ad aures episcopi delatis; doluit ille tam pro iuuenis
 culpa, quam pro pena. Et benedictione quidem missa statim

Wulfstan
dines with
Serlo and the
monks at
Gloucester.

Children and
people await
the bishop.

| *col. 2.*

Mockery of a
youth

| *fo. 180.*

punished by
divine
vengeance.

¹ Serlo was appointed abbot of Gloucester by the Conqueror after the death of Wulfstan, a monk of Worcester, whom Ealdred had made abbot there when he restored the monastery in 1058 (*Flor. Wig., sub anno*). The date of this appointment is given in the *Hist. Mon. St. Petri Glouc.* (p. 9) as 1072, but must be earlier than February, 1071 (the date of the death of William FitzOsbern) if the Conqueror's writ on Serlo's behalf (Davis, *Regesta No. 36*) is genuine. He died in 1104 (*Flor. Wig.*, II, p. 53).

² MS. "fuerere" altered to "furere."

patiens resipuit; sed credo pro his que furens egerat uel tolerauerat aliquantis post diebus fati¹ munus expleuit.

Chapter 15.
Wulfstan
consecrates
church at
Gloucester.

| col. 2.

Preaches
about peace.

Appeal of
William the
Bald who
had killed a
man by acci-
dent,

| fo. 180b.
Gest. Pont.,
§ 142.

and could
not procure
peace from
five brothers

Ad² eandem iterum urbem a reuerentissimo accitus abbate dedicauit ecclesiam.³ Densa populorum constipatio aderat; quod⁴ ut fere fit penitentiarum remisse inhÿaret; et ipsius presertim antistitis benedictionem magnipenderet. Hinc ipsius mentem tacitam pertemptabant gaudia; quia uideret tam effuso fauore uelud lenis aque inundantem impetum, populum ad dei seruitium confluere. Non ergo torrentem eloquii sui sicientibus subtraxit; sed eum larga caritate infu|dit. Multum enim diei occupauit predicatio; dum eis habundanter inculcaret, quod maxime tenendum cognosceret. Pacem dico; qua nichil dulcius audiri, nichil desiderabilius appeti, nichil postremo melius inueniri a mortalibus potest. Pacem que sit salutis humane principium, et terminus; que mandatorum dei quasi limes extremus. Denique illam in ipso redemptionis auspicio, angelicum melos intonuit; eam dominus iam iamque crucem meditatus discipulis dedit; eam resurgens sicut triumphale exenium eisdem reportauit. Loquebatur hec uulgo episcopus; et ideo necessario, inferebat exempla. Sed ego quia literatis loquor; notiora sunt que dico, quam ut exemplificare desiderent. Multi sane antea incapabiles; eo die ad pacificos reuocati assensus. Alterutrum se incitabat populus; et siquis resultandum putaret, | consulebatur episcopus. Hinc cuidam Wilhelmo cognomento caluo aborta fiducia; ut querelas suas, ferret in medium. Is casu non industria occiderat hominem; nec a cognatis occisi ullo poterat pacto mercari amicitiam; ullo precio inpetrare ueniam. Sepe temptauerat uenerandus abbas reducere illos in concordiam; sed omnes conatus in uentum effuderat. Fratres erant quinque; qui pro nece germani tantas fremebant furias, tantas fulminabant minas; ut quemlibet exterrere possent. Quis enim non corde labaret; cum tot homines eui maturos, eosdemque robore audacissimos in capud unum assurgerere⁵ uideret? Tunc quoque producti et ab episcopo rogati ut illius delicti gratiam facerent; turbulente prorsus abnuerunt. Addider-

¹ MS. "fari" altered to "fati."

² Wharton omitted this chapter

³ Apparently not the abbey church the re-building of which was begun by Serlo in 1089 (*Hist. et Chart. Gloc.*, p. 11, *Annals of Tewkesbury, Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 43), and which was not consecrated until 1100 (*Flor. Wig.*, II, p. 44, *Hist. Gloc.*, p. 12).

⁴ Sic MS., probably error for "que."

⁵ Sic MS. for "assurgere."

unt facto non mitiora uerba; malle se omnino excommunicari, quam necem fratris non ulcisci. Tum sacerdos ad ple | nam satisfactionem aduoluitur eorum pedibus; sicut erat pontificatus¹ | *col. 2.* insignibus amictus. Iterabat preces iacens in terra; commeatum etiam missarum et beneficiorum tam Wigornie quam Gloescestre, defuncto pollicitus. Nichil illi pro tanta flexi humilitate; omnem abiurabant concordiam. Tantus eos dolor interitus fraterni succenderat; ut totam sibi humanitatem adimerent. Quantus enim erat furor, beatam illam canitiem in puluere uolutatam despicere; quam etiam ipsos angelos puto reueritos fuisse? Addebatur contemptui eius diuina iniuria; et pontificalem uestem humana calcabat arogantia. Quo circa presul qui parum blandiciis promouerat; seueriori remedio, inueteratis occurrens morbis; facile discrimen esse aiebat inter filios dei et filios diaboli. Si enim ueritati creditur, immo quia creditur dicenti, *beati pacifici, quoniam filii dei uocabuntur*, | liquet² profecto filios esse diaboli | *St. Matt. v, 9.* qui paci aduersantur. Cuius enim quis opera facit; eius et filius dicitur. | *fo. 181.* Acclamauit populus ita esse ita se uelle; simul et contemptores conuiciis incessebat. Secuta est e uestigio maledicta populi diuina ultio; uno ex fratribus eodemque acerrimo statim insano facto. Uolutabatur ad humum miser, mordicus terram apprehendens; digitis effodiens, spumas uirulentas iaciens; fumigabundis etiam quod uix alias audierim menbris; ut teterrimus odor uicinum infestaret aerem. Quid animi tunc fuisse putas reliquis, hec uidentibus? Desedit tumor mentium; insolentia euanuit; arrogantia emarcuit. Cerneret illos ultro quod contempserant affectare; pacem offerre, misericordiam implorare. Metus sui reuerentiam extorserat; pietas fratris humilitatem induxerat. Quippe non secus in se quam in illo ultum iri timebant | *col. 2.* facinus; quod eque omnes inuoluerat. Mouit hec rerum facies clementiam antistitis; statimque post missam pacienti salutem, ceteris securitatem, omnibus reformauit pacem.

who spurn
the efforts of
Wulfstan to
make peace.

St. Matt. v, 9.
fo. 181.

The most
violent goes
mad.

Hec³ fuit occasio; ut Wlstanus de pace loquenti, nemo presum- *Chapter 16.*
eret refragari. Gaudebat pater de filiorum prouectibus, quia *Office of*
sciret quod illorum salus ad suum redundaret premium. Propterea *preaching*
quantum sua intererat, multum eorum bona urgebat; instans *delegated to*
secundum apostolum oportune, importune, in omni pacientia et *Coleman.*
doctrina. Sin uero minus comode posset, quod quidem in extremo

¹ MS. "pontificatus" altered to "pontificatis."

² MS. altered from "liquent."

³ Wharton omitted this chapter.

| *fo. 18rb.*His preach-
ing about
peacespurned by
Ernmer.| *col. 2.*

etatis pre dolore tibiaram fuit; Colemanno predicationis delegabat officium; magnipendens in eo mundiciam uite prestanciam persone, profusam facundiam litterarum periciam. Que cum uir ille non perfunctorie haberet; non tamen ad Wlstani poterat gratiam aspirare; ut tam grate audiretur¹ a plebe. Quando-cumque enim episcopus de pace loquebatur | inhianter audiebatur; alter non ita; set auditores aut succlamabant aut abibant. Verumptamen et in hoc uindicta celestis sacerdoti seruiuit; ut discerent omnes et in officialium eius ueneratione, ipsius honori assurgere. Erat in Wigorniam² minister Ernmerus nomine; ex illo cementariorum genere quos litores uocant. Hic cuidam homini ex eodem uico digladiabili odio infensus; si quando Colemannum de pace loquentem audisset; statim discessu suo predicationi simul et monacho ualefaciebat. Adulabatur interim sibi et cordi suggerebat blandicias, episcopum non loqui; et propterea quod a monacho diceretur, inpune posse contempni. Deo aliter uisum. Non enim multo post idem pontifex,³ contractis machinis super quas ad liniendam materiam stabat; miserabilem semperque sibi duraturam erumpnam incurrit, ambo crura debilitatus. Et eo quidem anno cubili accumbit; sed numquam tota uita pedes non doluit. | Multisque pro exemplo pene correctioni fuit; ut nullus fere per nomen Wlstani rogatus pacem auderet inficiari.

*Chapter 17.*Wulfstan
dedicates
church of
Ailsi at
Longney.A nut tree
used for
gambling
and feasting

Nec⁴ erat quicquam, quod magis caueretur a suis; quam ut culpis eorum irritatus, uel moueretur animo, uel excederet uerbo. Quamquam ille in neutrum facile laberetur; aut si unquam, certa hoc et necessaria causa; ut exemplo palam erit. Eielsius,⁵ quidam qui minister regis Eadwardi fuerat, ad uillam suam Langene⁶ supra Sabrinam positam, euocauit antistitem, ad consecrandam ecclesiam. Uenit ille ut nunquam in talibus moras nectens; sed locus capacitati populi defuit; qui undatim ad eum solito more confluerat. Preter hec erat in cimiterio arbor nucea, patulis frondibus umbrosa; que lasciuiam ramorum amplitudine, diem inuidebat ecclesie. Eam inuitatore ascito, iussit abscidi episcopus.

¹ MS. altered from "audiceretur."² *Sic* MS.³ *Sic* MS. D. has "opifex."⁴ Wharton omitted this chapter.⁵ D. "Eylsius"; H. "Elisius"; R. "Ailsius." Ailsi occurs among the king's thegns in the Gloucester Domesday (Rec. Com., fo. 170b, col. 1): "Elsi holds of the king Langenei (Longney on Severn). There are 5 hides paying geld. He himself held it in the time of King Edward. . . . It was worth 100s.; now 60s."⁶ D. "Longeneyam"; H. "Langene"; R. "Langene."

Congrueret enim, ut si spacium negasset natura, ipse suppleret industria; ne dum | quod illa dederat; ille suis occuparet ludibriis. | *fo. 182.*
 Solebat enim uir ille sub eadem arbore presertim estiuis diebus, aleis uel epulis uacare; uel aliis ludis hilaritatem allicere. Qua propter non solum non humiliter paruit; sed etiam pertinaciter contradixit. Tamque ut postea confessus est, erat impudentis amentie; ut mallet ecclesiam non dedicari, quam arborem abscidi. Tum uero sanctus non nichil hac proteruia motus; maledictionis iaculum in arborem intorsit.¹ Quo illa uulnerata; paulatim sterilescebat et fructu caruit, et radicitus exaruit. Qua infecunditate, ita possessorem exacerbauit; ut quam possederat cum inuidia, desiderauerat cum gratia; sterilitate pertesus abscidi iuberet. Hoc idem paterfamilias Colemanno reuerso postea retulit; et in insignum² miraculi locum ostendit; fixumque apud se semper habuit et dixit, nichil Wlstani maledictione amarius; nichil benedictione dulcius inueniri.

withers at
the curse of
Wulfstan.

| Multotiens³ enim qui tranquillum animum uiri peruicacia sua turbauerunt; celestem ultionem experti sunt. Verbi causa exemplum subtexam. Venerat statim post Pascha in uillam, cui Blocclelea⁴ nomen. Aderatque dies octauarum; qua dominus noster geminato post resurrectionem suam miraculo; ueram carnem obseratis foribus intulit cenaculo. Missam dicturus; omnia ornamenta altaris infra sollempnitatis decorem esse offendit. Informes cereos, candelabra cotidiana; mantilia diuturnum squalorem preferentia. Quapropter astanti clericello innuit; ut ueloci cursu cubiculario rei correctionem iniungeret. At minister qui sepe clementia mansueti, pontificis abusus esset commoto felle per grandem colaphum puero impegit. Cesus ille ad dominum rediit: indices sui doloris lacrimas reportans. Tanta seruientis arrogantia, infremuit antistitis ira; turbato etiam uultu prodita. Verumptamen | intra pectus eam choibens; rem omnem pro tempore quieto dissoluit silentio. Sed mirabilem in modum, eadem hora qua ira mentem pontificis in ecclesia concussit; morbus ministri corpus in cubiculo turbauit. Quo ictus, ad terram decidit; flatu pene

| *col. 2.*
Chapter 18.
Miraculous
punishment
of chamberlain at
Blockley.

| *fo. 182b.*

¹ Corrected (in margin) from "intorsit."

² See MS. and Durham abridgment.

³ Wharton omitted this chapter.

⁴ D. "Blocheleia"; H. "Bloccheleia"; Blockley, co. Worc., a large manor of the bishop of Worcester, assessed at 38 hides in Domesday (*V.C.H.*, Worc., I, p. 293, col. 1).

intercepto, sensu certe amisso. Similis ergo iam iamque morituro iacebat. Ita color a facie, calor a corpore, sermo ex ore fugerat. Accursum undique ad iacentem; causa subiti casus sollicitè quesita, diligenter inuenta. Quia innocenti puero alapam infregerat, iratum episcopum fuisse; illum nunc sacrilegi ausus penam pendere. Deposcendam ergo ab illo ueniam; pro quo culpa inuenerat uindictam. Huius rei legatione familiari monacho quem persepe nominaui data; cunctorum uoces pertulit ille. Nec mora benedictione concessa, tam facile sanitas astitit confitenti; quam pernicious morbus ingruerat peccanti.

| col. 2.
Chapter 19.
An almost
incredible
story.

Ship trading
between
Bristol and
Ireland
caught in
storm.

| fol. 183.

| Ueniam ad illud miraculum, quod quia nostris temporibus est factum; pene sibi fidem abrogat. Quod Colemannus fore non ignorans, multis illud suffulsit testibus; ne auditorum credulitate uacillante, triumpharet perfidia. Et primo quidem cum recens auditum Wigornensibus intulisset; quidam arguerunt eum mendacii; non ueritatem facti set fauorem sancti esse cauillati. Hoc ille acrius instare, et testes legitimos producere; uiros numero et dignitate prestantes. Nec prius abstiit, quam duras fronte obtunderet; dum predicabiles homines se illud expertos esse dicerent, et per quicquid sanctum est iurarent. Id fuit huiusmodi.¹ Vicus est maritimus Bricthstou² dictus; a quo recto cursu, in Hiberniam transmittitur; ideoque illius terre barbariei accommodus. Huius indigene cum ceteris ex Anglia, causa mercimonii, ut sepe in Hiberniam annauigant. Iamque³ in altum processerant; cum | mutata celi clementia diem abstulit, noctem induxit. Seuiebat fragor uentorum, diluuium ymbrium; ut solui mundus estimaretur. Militare putares procellas in excidium miserorum nautarum; rudentibus diruptis, malo effracto, remis excussis, procedebat nauigium casu non uiribus; fortuna non arte. Perfallebant omnes morte uentura, tribusque diebus cum noctibus inopes sompni, expertes cibi uitam traxerunt. Deus pie quanta miseria hominum, pendulo metu mortem operientium; cum leuius ut puto sit uitam uiriliter abrumperet; quam ignauum interitum expectare. Quarto die cum iam terga daret quicquid superfuisset animi; deus qui nollet mortem miserorum, set uitam, inspirauit cuidam ut diceret. Uos qui estis ex episcopatu reuerentissimi Wlstani, cur non precamini dei miseriam; ut per eius intercessi-

¹ "Ueniam . . . huiusmodi." Wh. om.

² D. "Brystowia"; H. "Bristowia"; R. "Bristouia," Bristol, co. Gloc.

³ "Iamque . . . materie." Wh. om.

onem faciat nos euadere hanc miseriam; rapuerunt ex ore il-¹lius uerbum ceteri; una uoce imis medullis in orationem effusi. Nec multo post omnipotentis clementia, in illo mortis horrore positos erexit; exhibens non quidem crediderim Wlstanum, set effigiem eius presentissimam. Mirum id sit dicere; set enim ueritati non resultat tot et tantorum uirorum assertio. Ibat ergo per nauem, armamenta consolidans, rudentes coaptans; modo singulos, modo uniuersos appellans. Reuocarent animos, antempnas¹ erigerent; funes uel cingulis² innecterent; futurum deo propitio; ut suo auxilio breui appellerent. Promissionem secutus est effectus. Statim enim Hibernie portui allapsi, nec multo post felicibus auris Angliam reuecti; disseminauerunt ubique miraculum. Nec diffidendum est nostro tempore potuisse fieri; quod aliquotiens per antiquos sanctos deus fecerit. Siquidem legimus aliquos, plerumque rei conscios, plerumque nescios, opem tulisse, absentibus; et adhuc corporis inuolucris impeditos; prout sibi libuit, spiritu exhibitos. Quorum nomina supersedeo dicere; ne uidear aliene indulgere materie.

| col. 2.
Sailors
appeal to
Wulfstan,
who assists
them.

| fo. 183b.

Hoc sane miraculum tanti apud uicanos ualuit; ut nichil eis magis animo staret; quam quod ille iubendum putaret. Denique ab eis morem uetustissimum sustulit; qui sic animis eorum occalluerat; ut nec dei amor, nec regis Willelmi timor hactenus eum abolere potuissent.³ Homines enim ex omni Anglia coemptos, maioris spe questus, in Hiberniam distrahebant; ancillasque prius ludibrio lecti habitas, iamque pregnantes, uenum⁴ proponebant. Uideres et gemeres concathenatos funibus miserorum ordines, et utriusque sexus adolescentes; qui liberali forma, etate integra, barbaris miserationi essent, cotidie prostitui, cotidie uenditari. Facinus execrandum, dedecus miserabile; nec beluini affectus⁵ memores homines, necessitudines suas, ipsum postremo sanguinem suum, seruituti addicere. Hunc tam inueteratum morem, et a proauis in nepotes transfusum; Wlstanus ut dixi paulatim deleuit. Sciens enim cervicositatem eorum non facile flecti; sepe circa eos duobus mensibus, sepe tribus mansitabat; omni dominica eo ueniens, et diuine predicationis semina spargens. Que adeo per interualla temporum apud eos conualuere; ut non solum renuntiarent uitio; sed ad idem faciendum ceteris per Angliam

Chapter 20.
Slave-trade
between
Bristol and
Ireland abol-
ished by the
preaching of
Wulfstan.

| col. 2.

¹ i.e. "antennas."

³ "Hoc . . . potuissent." Wh. om.

⁵ MS. altered from "affectos."

² Sic MS.

⁴ D. "uenales."

essent exemplo. Denique unum ex suo numero, qui pertinatius obuiaret preceptis episcopi; uico eiectum mox luminibus orbauere. In qua re¹ deuotionem laudo, sed factum improbo; quamuis semel incitatis agrestium animis, nulla queat obsistere uis rationis.

| *fo. 184.*

Chapter 21.

Wulfstan
goes to York
to bless the
chrism.

Wife of
sheriff of
Nottingham
demands
proof of
Wulfstan's
sanctity.

| *col. 2.*

Miraculous
capture of
salmon.

| *fo. 184b.*

| Legatu Willelmi regis, et Thome archiepiscopi, semel ad Eboracum ante Pascha proficissens,² ut ibi crisma benediceret; Snotingaham³ uenit. Is uicus est famosus; quem Trenta non ignobilis fluuius, ibidem transmeabilis alluit. Premittit ministros; qui pararent hospicium, tocius⁴ comitatus capax. Et tum forte uicecomes⁵ aberat. At uero uxor eius bone actionis femina, nuntios dignanter excepit; eosque magis quod essent Wlstan episcopo dediti. Nam sanctitatis eius fama; etiam illius aures dulci perfluerat aura. Referentibus illa nec fidem prorsus abnuerat, nec penitus accomodauerat. Nutabat ergo sententie incerto.⁶ Qua propter precursores uerbis adorsa sedulo explorat; sollicite per nomen dei adiurat. Liberarent eam hoc ambiguo; an religio episcopi, fame conueniret sue. Respondit percuntanti Frewinus, quod erat ueritatis, quod moderationis ut nec rem deprimeret, nec | ulterius fide attolleret. Episcopum dei seruum esse libenter et simpliciter eius seruicium facere; illud in se et in aliis diligere. Altius intendit questionem mulier; ut eius solutionem de celo attraheret. Euidenter appariturum quod dei famulus esset; si eius edulio profuturus piscis reti accurreret. Iam enim plus tribus mensibus, omnis in his locis piscium captura desiuerat. Dubietatis ergo nodum ille pro misericordia sua sibi solueret; qui quondam cicatrice uulnerum Thome firmasset ambiguum. Hec secum. Ceterum nuntiis egregio confotis hospicio; suos piscatum mittit, euentum rei fortune indulgens arbitrio. Continuo illi quorum ut dixi, artem omnes conatus illuserant pridem; quinque isitios immane quam turgidos, in-suerunt retibus. Verumptamen homines qui comodis consulentes suis, in exiguo mendatum po | nerent; tres mansiunculos⁷ furati, duos here attulere. Illa immenso gestiens tripudio, eos domino exhibuit; et palam omnibus rem totam exposuit. Nichil dubietatis super esse; quin dei gratiam haberet. Orare

¹ Added in margin.

² *Sic MS.*

³ D. and H. as above.

⁴ *MS. altered from "toticius."*

⁵ Possibly Hugh FitzBaldric, who was sheriff in 1086.

⁶ *Sic MS.*, possibly error for "incerta."

⁷ *Sic MS.* D. has "maiusculos."

obnixē; ut beneficiorum eius compos orationum particeps, memorie assecla fieri mereretur. Hoc primo die, hoc secundo; cum detecta latronum fallatia, reliqui pisces recepti, auxere miraculum. Nam et hoc ad eius sanctitatem referendum rata, quem deus nollet toto fraudare comodo; uotum oblato cumulauit xenio. Inter hec pulcrum est animaduerti, quam inpromptu spiritum prophetie habuerit; tum in multis, tum in hoc quod subtexam.¹

Sewius² quidam non mediocrium diuiciarum homo; in sua uilla Readcliuē fecerat ecclesiam. Eam a sancto dedicari religiosus uotis inestuans; ab archiepiscopo cuius erat diocesis petierat licentiam, et impetrauerat. Sato rumore in uulgus quod munus dedicationis executurus esset, Wlstanus; constipatis eo uentum est agminibus. Multus eo die fuit sermo ad populum; cum semper pro more de pace actitaret episcopus. Quo fretus ac plenum bone spei concipiens; tenuis homo substantie processit. Is multis precibus supplicauit antistiti; ut inter se et quendam prediuitis fortune qui astaret uirum pacem reformaret. Amborum nomina siue consulto, siue quia exciderant, pretermittit Colemannus. Verumptamen diuitem fuisse declarat presbiterum; sed presbiteratum propter opum conscientiam peierasse. Euocatus ergo et bis terque de pace precibus episcopi pulsatus; petitiones arrogantis fastu exinaniuit. Tum ille in superbum presentem prophetiam intentans ait. Verba enim ipsa non pretermittam. Non uis inquit pacem? Amen dico tibi, uenit hora et in proximo est; quod uoles et ei et aliis misereri, et non poteris. Petes misericordiam; et negabitur tibi. Nichil ille motus; iter uel potius fugam ad domum celerabat. Sed enim fortuna diu homini lenocinata, tunc autem scorpiacea cauda prosecuta; inimicos eius super induxit. Quibus uisis, socii qua quisque poterat dilapsi; ipse interfectus ueri uaticinii periculum fecit. Utile sane aliis factus exemplum; si quomodo mortales possint utilitatibus suis prospicere; ne presumant sanctorum uirorum preceptis obuiare. **Explicit liber secundus.**

Chapter 22.

Wulfstan allowed by Abp. of York to dedicate church of Sewi at Ratcliffe.

col. 2.

Obstinate priest punished.

fo 185.

¹ There is no break or coloured capital at this point, but it is convenient to begin a new chapter with the story of Sewy.

² Sewy occurs as Sawin among the king's thegns in the Nottinghamshire Domesday. He held, in 1086, 10 bovates and 4 parts of a bovate at Ratcliffe upon Soar (Radecliffe). The land was worth 100s. in 1066 and 60s. in 1086. Probably it was the same Sewy who held 1½ bovates and a quarter of a bovate at Barton in Fabis, 3½ bovates in Gotham, and 3 bovates at Kingston (V.C.H., Notts., I, p. 285, col. 2).

Incipit tercius.*Book III.**Private Life
of Wulfstan.**Chapter 1.*Personal
appearance.| *col. 2.*His modest
clothes
derided by
Geoffrey Bp.
of Coutances.Gest. Pont.,
§ 141.| *fo. 185b.**Chapter 2.*The bishop
dines with
his knights.

Hactenus et dixi et dixisse iuuat miracula ; pauca sane, sed que sufficient ad documentum sanctitatis Wlstanī ; nunc interiorē¹ eius uitam et mores dicere aggrediar. Primoque de corporis qualitate dicendum. Statura fuit temperata ; maximis cedens ; minimos supergrediens ; omnium membrorum equalitate compositus. Congruebat habitudini corporis, serenitas mentis ; ut | quemuis ad reuerentiam sui alliceret. Valitudinis prosperrime ; quam ipse et modestia cibi, et nulla indulgentia sompni adiuuabat. Indumenta eius lectisternia ; calciamenta moderata nec arrogantis precii, nec abiecte uilitatis. Vitabatur in utroque fastus ; quia et in sordibus luctuosus, potest esse iactantia. Pronius tamen ad id quod esset humile uergebat ; ut totum deesset pompe ; et nichil desideraretur gratie. Itaque semper omnis ostentationis refugus ; in cunctis diuiciis,² agninis tantum amittebatur pelli-
bus. Unde quadam uice, a Gaufrido Constantiensi³ episcopo benigne reprehensus ; facetissimis hominem respersit salibus. Cum enim interrogasset, cur agninas pelles haberet, qui sabelinas uel castorinas uel uulpinas habere posset et deberet ; eleganter respondit. Eum et homines prudentie secularis gnaros uersutorum animalium pelli-
bus uti debere ; se nullius tergiuer | sationis conscium pelli-
culis agninis contentum esse. Cumque ille instaret referretque ut uel saltem catts indueret ; crede mihi respondit Wlstanus, sepius cantatur agnus dei, quam cattus dei. Hec uerba Gaufridi risus excepit, admodum delectati ; quod ipse posset illudi nec alter posset infecti.

Excepto si quando cum monachis reficeretur ; semper in regia considentibus militibus, palam conuiuabatur. Indecens enim et illiberale testabatur esse, si clam obsonaretur ; domesticis interim

¹ D. "exteriorem."² D. "induuuīs."

³ Geoffrey held the see of Coutances in Normandy from 1048 until his death in 1093. Like Odo, bishop of Bayeux, he came to England in 1066 and was much occupied in secular affairs. Geoffrey was employed in a judicial capacity by the Conqueror, and the famous plea between archbishop Lanfranc and bishop Odo at Penenden Heath, and that between Wulfstan and the abbot of Evesham concerning Bengeworth, were settled before him. His lands lay in various parts of the country but mainly in the western counties. Geoffrey, like Odo, belonged to that type of secular prelate which the ecclesiastical reforms effected in Normandy had done much to extinguish. Wulfstan's references to his worldliness were therefore not without point. Concerning the use of lambs' skins and cats' skins, cf. 11th canon of Co. of Westminster, 1127 (Weaver, *John of Worcester*, p. 25).

musitantibus. Quamquam numquam post religionis habitum, nec ante aliquot annos, unctioribus cibis corpus curauerit; sed semper sagimine,¹ semper carnibus preterquam piscium ualefecerit. Quem morem qua sibi occasione¹ indixerit; non ab re fuerit, si altius repetam. Brihtegus² ut premissum est episcopus, eum a primis ordinibus in presbiteratum promouerat; promotoque ecclesiam uille que Hauekesberia³ dicitur delegauerat. | Erat tum ille prime lanuginis ephebus; nec tamen ut inuestis eui homo seculi luxibus consumeat operam. Inter hec nondum ab esculentis dapibus abhorrens; iussit quadam die aucam coqui. Ales uero ueru infixus, torrebatur sedulo, delicato pueri familiaris artificio. Distillabat ignea ui expressus aruine liquor; fuerat enim de altilibus aucis lectissima. Pars ministrorum prunas suggerere, pars condimentum molere; omnes in nidorem prurire, uoluptatemque uerbis dissimulare non posse. His captus presbiter, ipse quoque in delectationem animum resolverat; spe aucam prelibans. Iamque pene mensa posita, importuna sed necessaria causa extitit; que ipsum et prepositum cibi extorres domo extrusit. Ita inanis discedens; momentanee uoluptatis culpam arguebat animo. Miseram carnem ad tanta instigari mala; delectationem effluere; peccatum manere. Carnem non⁴ . . .

Gest. Pont.,
§ 139.

Gest. Pont.,
§ 137.
| col. 2.

He abstains
from all flesh
foods after
an incident
at Hawkes-
bury.

. . . ris uigilantiorem deprehendisset. Quorum unus Edricus nomine, quem et ego noui quadam nocte cantanti consedit. Sed cum ille nichil soliti pensi pretermittere uellet; pertesus morarum monachus, manu etiam episcopo ut desineret significare presumpsit. Quo sompnolentiam eius nutu arguente, resedit inuitus; perstitit oscitabundus. Mox cum se cubitum collocasset; magna ui per uisum concussus, flagris quin etiam cesus, inconsculte temeritatis penas dedit. Postremo data fide, quod numquam ulterius bonum hominem a bono deterreret uel impediret opere; tam horrifice uisionis periculo solutus est.

Chapter 3.
| fo. 186.

Nocturnal
chanting
with the in-
vigilating
monk.

¹ Sic MS.

² D. "Brihtegus"; H. "Brictegas."

³ D. "Haueskesburi"; H. "Hauechesburi"; Hawkesbury, co. Gloc., a manor (Domesday, fo. 164b, col. 2, "Hvesberie") of the Church of Worcester, assessed at 50 hides in 1086.

⁴ The remainder of this chapter and the earlier part of the next were contained in the folio now wanting in the MS. The contents of the missing leaf may be learned from Book II, Chapters 1 and 2 of the abridgment of the *Vita* printed below, and the *Gesta Pontificum*, §§ 137, 141 (Ed Hamilton, pp. 279, 282).

Chapter 4.
Wulfstan's
regular
attendance
at matins.
| col. 2.

Ps. xxv. (now
xxvi.) 8.

His clerks
lead him
astray at
Marlow.

| fo. 186b.

| col. 2.

Matutinas semper in ecclesia cantitabat; quanto cumque spacio, dispararetur ab hospicio. Illuc ibatur, ningeret, plueret; quicumque porro incommoditas aeris esset. Si luto uia sorderet; nichil minus. Si crassitudo tenebrarum celum subtexeret; nichilo segnius. Eluctabatur ille omnem difficultatem itineris; dum modo ueniret ad ecclesiam; ut non falso posset dicere deo. *Domine dilexi decorem domus tue.* Hac consuetudine cum quadam uice ante natale domini curiam proficiscens, apud Merlaue uillam accepisset hospicium; dixit suis mane se ad ecclesiam iturum. Ea longe aberat; simul et lutosia uia quemlibet etiam die ambulanti deterreret. Preterea ninguus ymber uel nix pluuiialis, utroque enim modo seuiebat aer; impedimento essent. Hec clericis obtendentibus; ille perstitit in sententia, nec deici potuit. Velle se ad ecclesiam ire, uno saltem uel etiam nullo comite; tantum monstrarent¹ sibi uia, ne incerto erraret tramite. Ita uotis episcopi contra se fluentibus; cessit clericorum improbitas, iracundiamque silentio frenauit. Quorum Frewinus mente prurptior, manu domini apprehensa geminauit² culpam; ducendo eum qua palus undosior, qua uia infestior esset. Ille luto ad genua immersus, uno etiam calceo priuatus; interim dissimulauit iniuriam. Eo enim clericalis precedebat³ intentio; ut et tunc episcopum cepti pigeret; et postmodum consiliis suis accederet. Iam uero multo die, artubus gelante rigore premortuis, ad diuersorium regressus; tum demum et suum incomodum, et clerici delictum aperuit. Precepit etiam ut quereretur calceus et nullo conuitio in contumacem inuectus; sed atrocitatem facti uultus hilaritate attenuans. Erat enim dominus pontifex magne tolerantie, qua ita mentem armauerat; ut nulla eum illusio turbaret, nullum incomodum in peccatum concuteret. Nam plerumque quidam eum uel aperte obuncabant uerbis; uel occulte uelicabant ludibriis. Sed ipse aduersus hec et extrinsecus a seculo uenientia, sic stabat intrepidus; ut sequeretur animo, non tamen caderet uerbo. Nec enim ei hanc laudem arrogare uolo, quam affirmare non ualeo; ut nec animo moueretur. Affectiones enim animi nulla unquam religio delere potuit uel poterit; quas et si ualet ad horam compescere; non ualet in eternum auferre.

Chapter 5.

Missas cotidie ad minus duas audire; ad utramque oblationem

¹ Sic MS. for "monstraretur" (so D. *infra*).

² "apprehensa gemi" over erasure.

³ Sic MS. for "precedebat" (so D.).

suam non negligere; ipse terciam cantare. Si quo equitandum esset, ascenso animali continuo psalterium incipere; nec pausam nisi ad finem facere. Adiungebantur letanie cum collectis pluribus; et uigilie cum uesperis pro animabus. Tum si uia protelaretur; ad suffitientiam horum¹ repetebatur psalterium. Adequitabant clerici et monachi, uel seriem uersuum excepturi; uel amminiculaturi memorie; si quando uideretur titubare. Hoc ideo ut dedicerent inanes fabulas; que potissimum se uiantibus ingerunt. Quanto enim aspectui lenocinantur plurima; tanto copiosior loquendi occurrit materia.² Cubicularius presto habebat marsupium; quod esset omnium egentium erarium. Nemo enim unquam ingemuit repulsam; qui a Wlstanio mendicauit elemosinam, Iam uero uia permensa, cum uentum esset ad hospicium; non ante ut supra dixi quietis intraret cameram; quam cum precibus salutasset ecclesiam. Ipsas porro domus totius diuersorii iubeat lustrari a presbitero; cum aqua benedicta et crucis uexillo. Sic fugarentur aduersa; sic introducerentur secunda.

Psalm-singing when travelling.

| fo. 187.

Semper orabat aut predicabat uerbo si uacaret. Sin minus; mente affixus celo, inhiabat deo. Iaceret, staret, ambularet, sederet; semper in ore psalmus; semper in corde Christus. Quid quod etiam dormiens corpore; uigilabat oratione? Si quando nimio precum labore defatigatus, quieti membra composuisset; cedebat quidem nature ut dormiret; sed uel per se uel pulsante alio expectatus psalmum inchoabat. *Conserua me domine*, uel *diligam te domine*, uel cetera huiusmodi que orationem sonarent. Estiuus diebus post prandium plerumque indulgebat lecto; sed quod mirum quis dixerit; non poterat in sompnum resolui; nisi aliquo coram legente inductus. Si lector munus exerceret suum; uidebatur dormire. Altero cessante; confestim abrumpebat soporem. Legebantur enim ante ipsum sanctorum uite; et scripture edificatorie. Vere pronuncies uitam hominis fuisse quasi quoddam celeste speculum; ex quo totius sanctimonie resultaret simulacrum. Fuisse quasi diuine uoluptatis speculum; quod conduceret religioni, quod responderet saluti, quod postremo conquadret decori.

Chapter 6.

Edificatory literature read to him while sleeping.

Ps. xv. (now xvi).

Ps. xvii. (now xviii).

| col. 2.

Homines ad confessionem peccatorum uenientes iocunde suscipiebat; benigne refouebat. Confitentes gratissima humanitate audiens non arroganti gestu fastidiens. Lacrimabiliter condescendens illorum delictis; non resiliens sicut inauditis. Que res

Chapter 7.

Reception of penitents by Wulfstan.

¹ Sic MS. for "horarum." ² "Quanto . . . materia." Wh. om.

| *fo. 187b.*

effecerat; | ex tota uenientes Anglia, ea que nulli alii crederent, illi confiteri non erubescerent. Non pudebat ergo illi dum taxat dicere; quod pigebat fecisse. Ipse quoque parem in confitentes refundebat gratiam; sedulo ne desperarent ammonendo, qualiter peccata cauerent qualiter comissa diluerent instruendo. Nec illud minori, nescio an maiori, predicatione dignius; quod eos semper familiariores in posterum haberet, quorum peccata et penitentias nosset.

Chapter 8.

Sons of rich
men trained
by
the bishop
minister to
the poor.

| *col. 2.*

Egentium curam maxima componens diligentia, ante se illos sedilibus gregatim disponebat; affluenter queque necessaria impertiens. Filii diuitum curie sue mancipati officio, dapes epulanti pro more inferebant. Eis salutaria sedulo infundebat monita; arrogantiam non habere, humilitatem induere, inprimis mundiciam carnis non ledere; ne impulsu etatis lubrico, fedarent corpus in uo | luptatum uolutabro. Eosdemque cogebat, genibus flexis, pauperibus mensam, et cibos apponere; et pro disciplina ministrantium, aquam manibus infundere. Si quis eorum conscientiam alti sanguinis spirans, uel uultu superbiam proderet; contumacem arguebat. Alia esse in quibus mallet offendi; quam pauperem uel nutu contristari. Dominicum mandatum obseruandum; ut seruiatur egenis. Quicquid¹ enim pauperi accedit emolumenti; transire in reuerentiam domini. Quod inquit *ex*² *minimis meis fecistis; mihi fecistis.* Illis iuueniculis et diuitum liberis sanitatis etiam arridere gratiam. Contra si casu fortuna, hilaritatem uultus subtraheret; gauisuros siquis astitere, siquis saltem eos dignaretur aspicere. His et talibus pius doctor quamlibet rudium animorum decoquebat insolentiam; ut maturescerent, egenis exhibere reuerentiam. Sane pueros elegantis forme dignanter sacrarum manuum tactu | et oculis demulcens, amplectebatur in eis diuine compositionis gratiam; materiamque boni, ex decore liniamentorum eliciebat; dictitans subinde. Quam pulcher est creator, qui tam pulchras creaturas facit.

St. Matt.
xxv. 40.

They are re-
proved when
haughty.

| *fo. 188.**Chapter 9.*

Wulfstan's
provision for
solitude.
Unobtru-
siveness of
his religion.

In singulis uillis suis, singulas habebat ediculas, in quibus se obiectis repagulis a mane post missam includebat. Ibique solitudinem qua maiorem in heremo non haberet nactus; liberos³ in contemptum mundi et in speculationem dei, librabat mentis obtutus,

¹ "Quicquid . . . aspicere." Wh. om.

² Sic MS. for "uni ex minimis."

³ Durham abridgment reads "libros."

Nec erat qui meditantem interpellaret ; nisi cum clericus pulsatione hostii, tempus prandii uel horarum nuntiaret. Eratque hoc claustrum inter cameram et priuatam domum domesticis tantum consciis ; ne uideretur esse ostentator religionis. Hac se choibebat inter homines sollicitudine,¹ semper quidem sed maxime tempore Quadragesime ; ut hoc modo furaretur corpusculo, quod toto fugitabat animo. Erat enim ut uenerabilis prior Wigornensis Nicholaus mihi dixit non solum orator multiplex ; | sed etiam diligens. Denique cum ad uersum psalmi ueniret, quo affectum in deum suscitare posset ; utpote, *inclina domine aurem tuam et exaudi me quoniam inops et pauper sum ego*, hunc inquam et alios eiusmodi, bis terque repetens ; erectis in celum oculis ingeminabat. Diligentiam quin etiam orandi sicut idem prior auctor est non solum in se set et in suis diligenter obseruabat. Transgressionem autem suorum et tolerabat oportune, et arguebat pro tempore. Denique si quem monachorum uideret matutine synaxi deesse, quamuis tunc dissimularet, ceteris post officium sompno cedentibus² neglectorem leniter suscitans, debitum implere cogebat ; ipse uice ministri cantanti respondens. Quid³ hoc mirabilius homine ? Quid isto humiliter pontifice ? Nec turbulento spiritu indormientem efferatus ; pulsabat pede, lacessabat⁴ uoce. Nec rursus pretereunter peccatum subditi negligendum arbitraturs ; ad ueniam commissi regredi compellebat. In uno ergo mo | nitorem, in altero supparem ; in utroque benignum deoque dignum exhibebat antistitem. De Nicholao sane reuerentissimo, plura libet dicere ; si prius que de moribus Wlstanii habeo in manibus, potuero explicare.

| col. 2.

Ps. 85 (now 86).

His treatment of monks absent from matins.

| fo. 188b.

Diocesim suam ut supra tetigi sollicite peragrabat ; nichil quod sui intererat officii pretermittens. Id ut commodius fieret, semel in anno metam ponebat ; ualitudini sue, occurrentiumque fatigationi prospiciens. Per totum enim episcopatum, procedente⁵ archidiaconorum⁶ amonitione, tantum uulgus eius se infundebat occursui ; ut nequiret numerari. Quorum dum infirmitatibus seruire cogeretur ; erat quidem res ponderis, et grauedinis ; sed

Chapter 10. Systematic visitation of the diocese.

¹ D. (p. 97 *infra*) reads "solitudine."² "Diligentiam . . . sedentibus" over erasure.³ "Quid . . . antistitem." •Wh. om.⁴ Sic MS. for "laciessebat" or "laciessebat."⁵ Wharton printed "precedente."⁶ Probably a scribal error: Wulfstan had but one archdeacon.

emicabat animus sulleuator oneris, et uictor laboris. Per totam parochiam in sui iuris prediis ecclesias struebat; in alienis ut struerentur instabat. Apud Wesbi | ri¹ ex antiquo ecclesia fuerat; sed tunc semiruta et semitecta remedium desiderabat. Eam ille reparauit, in solidum; fastigauit in summum; parietes cemento, tectum plumbo reficiens. Delegatisque uillarum et decimarum redditibus, librisque officialibus, solempni dono Wigornensi ecclesie dedit; ibique monachis positis, Colemanum totiens dictum prefecit. Verumptamen cum esset in diuinis domibus apparandis, ita ut dixi sollers et diligens; in secularibus propemodum esse uidebatur hebes et negligens. Nusquam enim in uillis suis aulas, nusquam triclinia fecit. Nimirum qui non solum in istis forensibus sed etiam in ecclesiis operosa grauaretur architectura. Magis enim deputabat talia humane pompe, et iactantie; quam diuine uoluntati et gratie. Quod Nicholaus dicebat eo die, potuisse uideri; quo uetustam ecclesiam Wigornie fecit detegi. | Stabat ipse in cimiterio tacitus, et sub inde congemiscens.² Scaturibat³ quippe in animo eius cogitatio; que ingentem imbrem lacrimarum ferens tandem erupit. Nos inquit miseri sanctorum destruimus opera; pompaticę putantes nos facere meliora. Quanto prestantior nobis sanctus Oswaldus, qui hanc fecit ecclesiam; quot sancti uiri religiosi in ea deo seruierunt. Et licet astantes referrent, non debere illum tristari, sed potius letari quem deus ad hanc seruasset gratiam; ut sic uideret magnificari ecclesiam; in lacrimarum proposito tenax fuit. Nec desunt qui dicant predixisse illum ecclesie noue incendium; quo subsequentibus conflagrata est⁴ annis. Sed non placuit pro uero presumere; quod discrepat. Relinquatur ergo in medio.⁵ Tunc autem et nouam ecclesiam perfecit; nec facile inuenias ornamentum, quod eam non decorauerit. Ita erat in singulis mirabilis; et in omnibus singularis. Quo circa | ut magnificentie nichil deesset; lxx^{ta}, iij^{as}, marcas, argenti scrinio innexuit; in quo beatissimi Oswaldi predecessoris sui exuuias simulque multorum sanctorum locauit. Ea res multorum populorum et episcopi Roberti, et abbatum frequentia, octauo idus Octobris facta; quo die translatio predicti sancti eiusdemque octaua reliquiarum omnium loci memoria fieri annuatim iussa. Hoc ideo excogitatum, quia depositio sancti que in quadragesima est, non ita comode

¹ Westbury-on-Trym, co. Gloc. See Introd. p. xxxix.

² Altered (in different hand, in margin) from "conquiniscens."

³ Durham abridgment has the normal form "scaturiebat."

⁴ "ta est" over erasure. ⁵ "Relinquatur . . . medio." Wh. om.

| col. 2.

Restoration
of the
monastery
at Westbury

| fo. r89.

St. Oswald's
church at
Worcester
replaced.

Gest. Pont.
§ 141.

Magnificence
of shrine for
relics of
St. Oswald.

| col. 2.

fieri potest. Sciat¹ porro lector idem quondam scrinium a beato Oswaldo factum; sed a Wlstando, ampliatur.

In animarum fidelium auxilium maxima tenebatur miseratione; ut etiam temeritatem per cimiteria equitantium perpetuo compesceret edicto.² Multa ibi sanctorum iacere corpora; quorum animabus que apud deum sunt debeatur reuerentia. Verump | tamen parum hac profecit industria; quia nichilominus hodieque sanctorum calcatur reuerentia. Quando cumque et ubicumque ut superius dixi alicuius audiret obitum; statim *Pater noster* presentibus indicto, ipse tres psalmos *Laudate dominum omnes gentes, De profundis, Laudate dominum in sanctis*, cum precibus dicebat. Ita oratione pro anima deposita; fiebat defuncto si tempus sineret sermo brevis et perfunctorius, uel longus et necessarius. Missam pro mortuis nullo non die canctari³ faciebat; preter dominicas et ma'ora sollempnia. Remittebat enim festiuitati, quod pietati debebat; ut tanto magis augeret ueniam; quanto minus urgeret causam. Erat ergo dulcedinis quod ceteris diebus orabat; amplissime spei quod in dominicis cessabat. Neutro eum autem dominus fraudaret; quoniam arride | bat domini clementia; ubi | col. 2. plaudebat serui confidentia.

Chapter 11.
Wulfstan encourages respect for the dead.
| fo. 189b.

Ps. 116
(now 117).
Ps. 129
(now 130).
Ps. 150.

Labem impudicie⁴ oderat, integritati fauebat in omnibus; et maxime sacrati ordinis hominibus. Quorum si quempiam castitati comperisset deditum; familiarium eum parciū facere, et ut filium diligere. Uxoratos presbiteros omnes uno conuenit edicto; aut libidini aut ecclesiis renuntiandum pronuntians. Si castimoniam amarent; manerent cum gratia; si uoluptati seruirent; exirent cum iniuria. Fueruntque non nulli; qui ecclesiis quam mulierculis carere mallent. Quorum aliquos uagabundos fames absumpsit; aliquos res familiaris aliunde quesita, in extremum tutata, non destituit. Pauci quos sanior regebat ratio; abdicatis illicitis, preclaro in ecclesiis suis consensuere otio. | Quare antistes | fo. 190.

Chapter 12.
He expels married priests.

¹ "Sciat . . . ampliatur" is written in the same hand as the rest of the passage but reads like an addition to the work of William of Malmesbury by some unintelligent monk, unless "Oswaldo" is a mistake for "Aldulfo." Archbishop Aldulf, Oswald's successor, placed the bones of the saint in a shrine in 1002 (*Flor. Wig.*, Thorpe, I, 156).

² MS. altered from "edictio." ³ Sic MS. for "cantari."

⁴ "im" inserted in green, apparently when the large L in the same colour was executed at the beginning of the chapter.

cauens in posterum, nullum ulterius promouit ad presbiterum ; qui non de castitate seruanda daret sacramentum.

Chapter 13.
His humble
bearing to
his monks.

Gest. Pont.
§ 140.

| col. 2.

Humilitatis eius ubique maxime inter monachos multa fuere indicia. Quando erat Wigornie, missam maiorem cotidie fere dicebat ; officio ultroneo sepius quam ab illo cuius septimana esset rogatus. Fertur enim solitum dicere, quod tamen fide Nicholai dixerim. Monachum se loci esse ; septimanam ut ceteros ecclesie debere ; ideoque quod suo explere nequiret ordine ; suppleret pro aduentus tempore. Collationi sepe interesse ; deinde in ecclesia confessione facta, et benedictione data, redire ad sua. Summo diluculo ceteris quiescentibus, in ecclesiam se matutinus¹ agebat. Ubi si aliquis fratrum, ut fit plerumque missam dicere uolens ; non haberet adiutoris² solatium ; ipse incuntanter ministri subibat officium. Ipse in pueris et ceteris quos perperam uestitos uidisset, dignanter acclinis ; pendulos componebat sinus, rugasque dissidentes, redigebat in seriem.

Chapter 14.
St. Matt.
xxiii, 11.
Humility
and service
not inconsis-
tent with
authority.

| fo. 190b.

Wooden
altars
replaced by
stone.

Asserentibus quibusdam, quod tam dilecta humilitas citra episcopalem dignitatem esset ; respondebat. *Qui maior est uestrum ; erit minister uester.* Ego sum episcopus uester, et magister ; ideoque debeo esse uestrum omnium minister, secundum domini preceptum. Nec enim unquam ad uoluntatis sue supinabatur arbitrium ; in omnibus dei preceptis obsecundans. Moribus gratissimus, nulla acerbitate cohabitantes offendens ; nulla ingratitude obsequentes confundens. Sepe suis usibus aptata retrahens, dummodo suorum comoditatibus consuleret ; faceret, diceret omnia, que ad officium spectarent suum. Hec non solum exhibebat Wigornie ; sed ubicumque in diocesi sua peteretur uenire ad cenobia. Nec enim petentes dura fronte suspendere, uel morarum ambagibus aduentum suum excusare solebat. Quandocumque ei confirmandi pueri nuntiarentur ut ante dixi ; statim petitionibus³ nuntiantium assurgebat. Si uigilaret, reiectis que habebat in manibus ; si dormiret continuo sompno excussus. Erant tunc temporis altaria lignea ; iam inde a priscis diebus in Anglia.⁴ Ea ille per diocesim demolitus ; ex lapidibus compaginauit alia. Unde fiebat ; ut nonnumquam uno die, duo in aliqua uilla, secundoque et tercio, alias profectus, totidem dedicaret altaria. Ita impigre quocumque uocabatur aderat ;

¹ MS. altered from "matutinus."

² MS. altered from "adiutores."

³ MS. altered from "petitionibus."

⁴ This passage corrects Rock's *Church of Our Fathers* (1905 Edn.), I, p. 181.

ut non eum migrare sed uolare crederes. Quo tempore miraculum quod ea fecit occasione non paciar abduci silentio.

In ¹ ipso dedicandorum altarium itinere; uenit ad locum cui uicinabatur ecclesia, nouiter ab Egelrico archidiacono ² facta. Hanc ad dedicandum paratam episcopus sciens; imminente crepusculo archidiaconum conuenit. Iret protinus; et iam ecclesie consecrande competentia pararet. Eo se uen | turum diluculo; et affuturum offitio. Expalluit ille tam repentino precepto; sed nichil aliud excusationis nisi de apparatus inopia, referre potuit. Multis obsoniis tanto comitatu opus esse; ipsum quidem paruo contentum fore; sed sociorum se importunitati timere. Vade ait episcopus, fac quod ad te attinet; deus seruos suos undecunque pascet. Quia tam in proximo sumus; dei opus faciemus. Necessitas extorsit celeritatem clerico; ut continuo profectus, necessaria consecrationi maturalet. Adiecit munificentiam; ut conuiantium usui apta cuncta expediret. Sola erat ydromelli penuria; quod in uno uase illoque non grandi, ab amicis emendicauerat. Uenit ergo episcopus; factoque propter quod uenerat alias iter intendebat. Depulit intentionem archidiaconus; nismusque amicorum precibus, remansionem illius diei deprecatus est. Post prandium, inuitatoris precepti dapsilitas; ut de uase quod dixi cunctis propinaretur. ³ | Contendebat liquor cum haustoribus; quasi de fonte scaturiens, dampnis increcebat suis. Crederes farine ydriam uel lechitum olei; quibus ⁴ Sarreptenam uiduam ipse pascebat, qui pasci uenerat. Ignoro an excellentiore gratia; quia ibi trium hominum sustentata est natura; hic multorum sacietas expleta. Et hoc quidem magnum, sed maius quod sequitur; quia post triduum inuentum est uas semiplenum; quod tante multitudini sufficere uideretur nec totum. Nec uero archidiaconus clam tulit factum; sed communicauit aliis ad episcopalis solitudinis indicium.

Chapter 15.
Wulfstan consecrates a church built by Ailric the archdeacon.
| col. 2.

Miraculous provision of mead.

| fo. 19r.

iii. Regum
(1 Kings)
xvii, 16.

Res ammonere uidetur; ut quia de potu sermo se intulit; dicam quid monstri cuidam accidit; qui contra uetitum eius potauit. Habebat ipse in curia sua milites multos; non quo uoluptati esset, aut eius blandiretur animo, frequens seruientium multitudo. Nec enim in corde parturiebat iactantiam; | si haberet multorum obsequelam; sed rex Willelmus ita fieri preceperat; quod sereretur

Chapter 16.
Knights at the bishop's "court."
| col. 2.

¹ Wharton omitted this chapter.

² For further details concerning Ailric, see *Introd.* p. xxxv.

³ "etur" over erasure.

⁴ D, inserts "Helyas."

rumor in uulgus, Danos aduentare, et iam iamque affore. Nec a uero deuiahat opinio, uenissentque profecto; nisi alie res intercessissent. Causam minarum, et obicem impedimentorum in Gestis Regum Anglorum exposui; que ibi si quis uolet amicus lector inueniet.¹ Quo circa ut ceperam dicere rex timore percitus; coacto consilio, quid opus esset facto, in medium consuluit. Omnium fuit sententia Lanfranco auctore, curias magnatum militibus muniendas; ut si forte res exigeret, communi umbone, rempublicam et priuatas fortunas omnes contra barbaros tuerentur. Ideo episcopus plures retentans affluentibus mulcebat stipendiis; et delicatis saturabat obsoniis. Id² cum sepe; tum solito habundantius quadam die. Et primo quidem crebrioribus poculis adducta hilaritas; uarios ut in conuiuuiis solet sermones inuenit. A sermonibus processum in iurgia; et pene in arma, | quibus sanctus offensus pauloque commotior; omnem strepitum pincernarum³ cessare, et ne quisquam in domo illa, ea die potaret precepit. Ceteris nutui iubentis seruientibus; solus Nicholaus, quod eum antistes maiori dignaretur gratia, penum ingressus, temerauit preceptum. Inde dormitum se recipiens, horrificisque in sompniis impulsus; stridores diros emittebat. Exiit strato⁴ Colemannus, qui prope cubabat; expergefactumque tantorum motuum causam interrogat. Ille quod procul a Christiano sit, demone se urgeri respondit. Pro transgressione precepti nullam sibi requiem dari. Persuasus autem a socio, ut psalmo et cruce phantasiam discuteret; denuo in soporem resoluatur. Denuoque et tercio horrores eosdem aut maiores expertus; intellexit tandem, solum esse remedium, si ab illo impetraret ueniam; cuius iussum uiolando meruerat penam. Is tum, more solito in ecclesia solitariis orationibus deo lucubrabat. Af | fusus ergo genibus pii patris peccatumque confessus; benedictionem granter obtinuit; salutem non difficulter elicit.

Further
drinking
forbidden
after
drunken
brawls.

| fo. 197b.

Miraculous
punishment
of Nicholas
who dis-
obeyed.

| col. 2.

Chapter 17.

Sane ut occasione magistri, etiam uenerabilis discipuli memoria eat in paginas nostras; Nicholaus clarissime progeniei quantum ad Anglos fuit. Parentes eius sanctum uirum magna coluere reuerentia; multis commodis amicitiam eius pignerati. Puerum baptizauit ipse; litterisque nobiliter instructum continuo ut etas

¹ *Gesta Regum* (Ed. Stubbs), II, p. 317. A. S. Chron. (Plummer), I, 216. The murder of Cnut king of Denmark in July 1086 averted the impending invasion.

² "Id . . . elicit." Wh. om.

³ MS. altered from "pircernarum."

⁴ *Sic* MS. for "strato." D. "strato."

tulit, semper ad latus habuit. Mox ut plena informationis perfectio in eum conflueret, Cantiam misit; sub disciplina Lanfranci aliquamdiu militaturum. Idemque postea tempore Thiulfi episcopi factus prior; multa in breui experimenta industrie dedit. Idque quod magis conducibile arbitror, sic litteras habitatoribus loci, uel doctrina infudit, uel exemplo inculcauit; ut summis ecclesiis Anglie, et si cedunt numero; non uincantur studio. | Porro Nicholaus Wlstani dicta et facta referre uoluptati habebat; in hoc fortasse culpandus, quod uitam eius stilo non commisit. Nullus enim eam memorie mandare posset ueratius; quam nemo ipso nosset presentius. Denique uerba eius etiam que fortuito effunderet, nunquam fere pondere caruisse dicebat; ut istud. Demulcebat paterna benignitate capud ipsius; cui iam refugis a fronte capillis dampnosa cesaries erat. Tum ephebus alludens episcopo; pulchre inquit seruas capillos meos, qui omnes effugiunt. Non respondit ille crede mihi; quam diu uixero caluus eris. Nec minus dicto fuit. Sed ipsa pene septimana qua spiritus Wlstani reliquit terras; quicquid reliquum erat capillorum in fronte Nicholai, effluxit in auras.

The career of Nicholas; an Englishman educated and beloved by Wulfstan; trained under Lanfranc; afterwards prior of Worcester. | *fo. 192.*

Gest. Pont. § 147.

Omni die in Quadragesima ut ante dictum lector recolit; pauperibus post ablutionem pedum et manuum stipem impendebat cibariam. Idque libentius noc | tibus quam diebus, uitans uidelicet iudicia hominum que in utramuis partem amore labuntur aut odio. Ubi si inter alios assedisset aliquis, quem morbus occupasset regius¹; illius uero pedes pressare tenacius, osculari dulcius, oculos porro in ipsis figere ulceribus. Iam uero in cena domini totam diem perinde ac noctem succedentibus inuicem sibi pietatum officiis exigebat.² Et licet semper esset in dei cultum suspensus; illo tamen die maxima curabat, ne quid seculare suis irreperet actibus. Post matutinas cum monachis in maiori cantatas ecclesia in cubiculum regressus, aquam calidam cum manutergiis inueniebat paratam ab officialibus; quorum id erat munus. Ibi multis pauperibus ut dixi dilutis, omnium etiam uestimentorum indulgebat compendium; manu sua ipse caritatem ministrans. Tum ad momentaneam quietem membris compositis; ministri totam aulam implebant | pauperibus, quantum densatis agminibus, quantum confertis ordinibus sedere poterat. His omnibus cum pater calceos et uictum manu prebuisset sua; si ei diceretur domine, modo requiesce, bene fecisti; respondebat. Parum feci; sed uoluntatem habeo precep-

Chapter 18. Wulfstan's care for the poor, particularly in Lent. | *col. 2.*

His occupations on Sundays.

| *fol. 192b.*

¹ See note to Book II, c. 7 above.

² *Sic MS.*; D. reads "ac noctem in obsequiis pauperum transigebat."

tum domini mei faciendi. Inde secedebat in ecclesiam; totaque die usque ad nonam mundanorum refugus celum anhelabat.¹ Sequebatur penitentium reconciliatio, misse celebritas crismatis benedictio. Que omnia quamvis Colemannus magno uerborum circuitu egerit; mihi pretermittere consilium fuit; propterea quod non episcopale officium designare, sed uitam eius describere suscepim. Quid enim ad rem ea dicere que et alii faciunt; nec aliter quam in libris continetur facere possunt? Illud sane pretereundum non opinor; aspectum eius ita fuisse penitentibus gratiosum; ut cum eum conspicerentur oculo; dei angelum imaginarentur animo. Est ² enim | nature ingenitum; ut per illum te speres asequi peccatorum remissam; in quo nullam cognoueris offensam. Eo die cum reconciliatis commedere; post cenam monachis omnibus pedes abluere; pocula cum osculis ministrare, solitum accepimus. Sic a media nocte usque ad profundum alterius noctis crepusculum mundo se subtrahere consuetum.

| col. 2.

Chapter 19.
Reeves and
chamberlains
ordered to
provide food
and clothing
for the poor.

fo. 193.

The provi-
sions
exhausted.

Anno ante obitum suum proximo, tanta in cena domini offitium istud curauit efficacitā; ut superiorum annorum nichil fuisse putaretur diligentia. Presagiebat profecto illud se facturum ultimo; cunctosque ministros, sollicitudinis percellebat miraculo. Indixerat singulis prepositis, ut ex singulis uillis preberent unius hominis uestimenta omnia; decem hominum calceos; centum hominum uictum. Eadem etiam cubiculariis nundinanda preceperat: ut quod minus haberent predia, suppleret curia. Ter ea die impleta est aula egenis, sic constipatis; ut uix egreque quisquam progredi posset; adeo | cunctos aditus occluserant agmina, longa serie et confusa herentia. Fremebat domus, magno tumultu; abluabantque monachi et clerici pedes considentium. Ipse sedebat in medio; episcopali nixus subsellio. Labor immensus uires exhauserat; ut uel psalter esset; qui ablutor esse non posset. Erat interea mens misericors, que uellet satisfieri cunctis; ne ullus abiret inanis. Et quidem semel et secundo discesserunt omnes; uestibus ornati, nummis et calceis leti, omnes uentribus suffarcinati. Iam uero cum tercio locaretur pauperum ordo; suggessit in aurem monachus episcopo, pecuniam et uestes defecisse; in angusto etiam uictum esse, dapiferumque cubicularios conuentos expensas negare. Quid ergo lauare pedes attineret; quando quod lotis daretur non esset? Immo inquit episcopus fiat preceptum domini; non deerit largitas

¹ MS. altered from "anhehelabat."

² "Est . . . offensam." Wh. om.

eius, ut alicunde pascantur serui. Ministri mei pro me facere nolunt; uolent cum me non habebunt. Uix hec locutus fuerat; et ecce tres ingressi sunt nuntii, alter alterius calcem pene profestatione terentes. Primus pecuniam allatam, secundus equum adductum, tercius boues donatos, episcopo nuntiauit. Ille leuatis in celum oculis et manibus, exultauit miraculo; non tam sui causa quam pauperum emolumento. Monachi flere pre gaudio; et tali aggratulari domino. Ab omnibus benedici deus, qui non fraudaret uota in se sperantium; nec pateretur uel ad horam contristari Wlstanum. Ita equus in precium redactus; boues in nummos conflati; cum pecunia nuper allata egenorum proficere compendiis.¹

Opportune arrival of further gifts.

| col. 2.

Premonuerat ministros uelle se ad illud Pascha, conuiuari accuratis epulis; cum bonis hominibus. Id illi falso interpretati; opulentorum plerosque conuocauerant. Iamque Pasche dies illuxerat; cum ille in aulam pauperibus quantos capere poterat, introductis, precepit inter eos sedili locato epulas sibi apponi. Excepit illud dapifer, ingenti indignatione animi. Multo enim infrendens murmure lacerabat lenitatem uiri; dicens competentius esse ut episcopus conuiuaretur cum paucis diuitibus; quam cum multis pauperibus. Ad hoc ille respondit. Illos diuites esse; qui nossent et possent uoluntatem dei facere. Illis debere serui; qui non haberent unde redderent. Redditurum deum compensationis gratia; quod non haberent egeni relatione uicaria. Letius se uidere istum² consessum; quam si ut sepe consedisset regi Anglorum. Multo enim ut dixi eum suspiciebat rex honore, multo proceres; ut qui sepe ipsum ascirent conuiuio et assurgerent eius consilio, ipsi crebro qui persequerentur iusticiam; ingenita quibusdam natura, ut in aliis percolant; ad quod ipsi aspirare non ualeant. Quid dico de optimatibus Anglie? Reges Hybernæ, magnis eum uenerabantur fauoribus. Rex Scotie Malcolmus,³ cum uenerabili coniuge

Chapter 20.

Wulfstan's wish to dine with "good men."

| fo. 193b.

Letters of eminent persons addressed to him.

¹ An interesting parallel is provided in the ordinance of King Æthelstan (925-940) commanding all his reeves "that it is my wish that you shall always provide a destitute Englishman with food, if you have such an one (in your district), or if you find one elsewhere." To each pauper they were to give "an amber of meal, a shank of bacon, or a ram worth four pence every month, and clothes for twelve months annually." Attenborough: *Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 126-7.

² MS. altered from "iustum."

³ Malcolm III, called Canmore, became king of Scotland in 1054. He was at Gloucester in 1092, summoned thither by William Rufus. Finding that

|col. 2.

Margarita, ipsius se dedebat orationibus. Penetrauerat regionum |intima; regnorum extrema; sanctitatis eius fama. Papa Romanus,¹ Barenensis archiepiscopus,² Ierosolimitanus patriarcha,³ epistolis que adhuc supersunt⁴ eius ambierunt apud deum suffragia. Nulla postremo pene fuit mundi gloria que nolentem renitentemque non sequeretur. Eratque certamen inter uirum et gloriam; dum quo eam acrius fugeret ille; eo constantius eum illa urgeret. Sed de talibus hucusque circumuagari licuerit; dum transitum eius lacrimabilem quidem terris, sed exultabilem celis, adoriri formidat oratio. Nunc enim pro mediocritate scientie dicturus, te rogo domine Christe, ut sic in eo dixerim, uel dicere possim, munera tua; quatinus et tibi sit platum, et sibi non ingratum. Tua enim sunt domine prorsus, que in Wlstando laudamus; quia tuum est omne quod uiuimus. Quapropter misericordem omnipotentiam tuam, quantum possum queso; ut hac acceptes lucubratiunculam; ne quantumcumque fructu laboris excidam.

|fo. 194.

Chapter 21.
The dying
bishop con-
fesses to
Robert bp.
of Hereford.

| Proximo post ipsa que nuperrime dixi Pentecoste; graui per omnes artus tactus molestia, lecto accubuit. Iussit continuo equis concitatis familiaris sui Roberti episcopi Herefordensis⁵ aduentum rogari. Robertus quod nuntiabatur audito, confestim affuit. Et Wlstanus humanorum excessuum confessione facta; etiam disciplinam accepit. Ita uocant monachi uirgarum flagra; que tergo nudato cedentis infligit acrimonia. Quantus hic uir, qui euo inualidus, morbo infractus, conscientia etiam serenus, non abstineret flagellis corporis; ut discuteret si quid reliquum erat anime sordis. Ab eo tempore, usque in Circumcisionem domini, uidebatur aliquando leuius habere; aliquando recidebat in lectum. Ita pigra sed assidua febre; agebatur in exitum. Labes corporis augebat uires anime; ut si quid in eo erat immaturum eterne glorie, feruor infirmitatis posset decoquere. Post Circumcisionem; supradictus

his complaint against William, who had reduced Cumbria and deposed Dolphin, would not be heard until he had done homage, he went away in anger and invaded Northumberland in the next year, when he was killed in ambush (Nov. 1093). His wife, Margaret, the sister of Edgar Etheling, died a few days after her husband was slain. Her piety and culture did much to improve the condition of Scotland, and it is known that archbishop Lanfranc acted as her adviser.

¹ Apparently Urban II (1088-1099).

² Probably either Ursus (d. 1089) or Eneas (d. 1105), Gams, p. 856.

³ Marcus II or Euthymius II (d. 1099, Gams, p. 542).

⁴ They are not known to be extant now.

⁵ 1079-1095. See c. 23 below.

episcopus et uenerabiles | diocesis sue abbates Serlo Gloecestrie.¹ Geraldus Theokesberie,² decumbentem uisitarunt. Hos ipse primum pro more suo seipso accusato, iure absoluit suo; extremum eis ualefaciens. Ebulliebat in dies uis ualitudinis; maturabatque Christus transitum qui uocabat ad celum. Interea non feriabatur ille a dei seruitio; sed ueterum non oblitus studiorum, orabat plerumque uerbo, semper animo. Magisque sedens quam iacens, aures psalmis oculos altari applicabat; sedili sic composito, ut libere cerneret quicquid in capella fieret. Ante octo dies decessus sui, a Thoma priore³ loci sacre inunctionis suscepit officium; cotidiano post hec eucharistie uiatico tutatus exitum. Supremum efflauit xiiii Kal. Februarii; paulo post mediam noctem sabbati. Annus⁴ erat incarnationis dominice millesimus octogesimus septimus; regni Willelmi iunioris decimus; post annos suscepti episcopatus triginta quatuor, menses quatuor; dies xiii; anno etatis ciciter⁵ octogesimo septimo. Hic porro mirari quis poterit; quod longeuitatis sue future non ignarus ipse uiuens fuerit. Quod⁶ cum sepe alias tum semel in capitulo dulcissime pronuntiauit. Circumsedentibus enim fratribus, et multa ut fit mutuo sermone serentibus, cum repente obstipo capite sopori cessisset; singulantibus omnium lacrimis, quasi festino eos obitu destitutus conclamatus est. Nec multo post discusso sompno, cum causam ploratus addicisset; respondit his fere uerbis. Crede mihi quantum senile corpus durare poterit, non moriar; nec nisi longo senio dissoluetur hec compago. Post quam autem excessero; tunc uobis presentior ero; ne aliquis ex eis quos timetis uobis poterit nocere; si deo uelit fideliter seruire.

| col. 2.

He is visited
by the
abbots of
Gloucester
and
Tewkesbury.

The death of
Wulfstan,
1095.

| fo. 194b.

Gest. Pont
§ 148.

Lauerunt ergo corpus; quod iam spe resurrectionis perpetue prefulgidum, stupori et uenerationi uisitentibus fuit. Ita perspicuo

Chapter 22.

Description
of the corpse.

¹ See f.n. to Bk. II, c. 14, above.

² It would seem that Gerald was abbot of Cranbourne at this date. He was a monk of Gloucester according to the annals of Winchester (*Ann. Mon.*, II, p. 34), and is said to have become abbot of Cranbourne about 1087 (*V.C.H. Glouc.*, II, p. 62). The monastery of Tewkesbury was rebuilt by Robert Fitz Hamon, but it was not until 1102 according to the narrative in the meagre Tewkesbury chartulary (printed *Monasticon*, II, p. 60) and the Annals of Tewkesbury *sub. an.* (*Ann. Mon.*, I, p. 44) that Gerald and the monks moved thither.

³ See *Introductio*, p. xxxviii.

⁴ The erroneous date given in the MS. is clearly a blunder of the scribe. See *Introductio*, p. xliii.

⁵ *Sic* MS. for "ciciter."

⁶ MS. over erasure.

| col. 2.

Gest. Pont.
§ 148.Episcopal
ring found
to be
immovable.

| fo. 195.

nitore gemmeum, ita miranda puritate lacteum erat.¹ Denique nasus qui uiuenti citra modum protuberabat, ita | pulchre defuncto subsedit et incanduit; ut mirum uisentibus esset. Illud porro quod dicam non nullo presentibus fuit miraculo. Anulus quem ad consecrationem pontificatus acceperat; non nunquam ante hanc ad horam exciderat. Multis² enim ante obitum annis, ita caro digitorum exinanita fuerat; ut uix pellicula herere uideretur ossibus. Adeo uel longeuitas, uel quod magis affirmauerim, abstinentia corpus attenuauerat. Inde fiebat; ut crebro laberetur anulus, magno dolore monachorum, proximam antistitis mortem ominantium. Eos ille benigno miseratus animo; clementis suadele demulcebat oleo. Frontem tristia³ soluerent; anulum non defuturum si querebant. Eum sibi sine ambitu acquisitum, in humum portandum. Hec sepius dicta et facta. Anulus⁴ crebro lapsus nunquam omnino amissus, semper inuentus. Tum uero ut ceperam dicere, quidam temptauerunt subtrahere digito; siue ut memō | rie loco haberent; siue ut fidem promissi probarent. Verum multis conatibus ultro citroque irritis; cepto destiterunt. Sic nodositas articulorum sic pellis et neruorum integritas omne deludebat ingenium.

Chapter 23.
Appearance
of Wulfstan
to Bishop
Robert.

Offertur interea corpus; proceditur ad ecclesiam; quam ipse de uetusta fecerat nouam. Locatur ante altare cum feretro; circumsedente clero. Ibi nocte illa cum sequenti die ac nocte; orationum inferie, lacrimarum exequie deo turrificantur. Erat tunc Robertus antefatus Herefordensis episcopus in curia regis; homo seculi quidem fretus prudentia, sed nulla solutus⁵ illecebra. Huic eadem hora qua sanctus rebus excessit, uisus est astare multum mutatus ab illo Wlstando, quem proximis uidisset annis. Ita stellanti luce perspicuus, uiridanti uultu roseus erat. Episcopolibusque

¹ Descriptions of this sort are not uncommon in hagiographical writings. Walter Daniel's elaborate description of the corpse of Ailred of Rievaulx, "Cum autem corpus eius . . . quodammodo futuram gloriam reuelatam in patre, cuius caro uitro purior, niue candidior, . . ." slightly reminiscent of the *Vit. Wulst.*, aroused adverse criticism among contemporaries. See Powicke, Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer, *Bulletin of John Rylands Lib.*, Manchester, Vol. VI, pp. 335, 520.

² "Multis . . . ingenium," Wh. om.

³ MS. wrongly altered from "tristitia."

⁴ Concerning the pontifical ring see Reek, *Church of Our Fathers* (New Ed. II, p. 140). The passage above seems to indicate that at least at this date the ring was not worn over gloves of any sort.

⁵ Possibly "polutus" was intended.

uestimentis amictus, et baculum tenens in manibus; his compellere uidebatur iacentem. Veni nunc dilecte frater Roberte Wigor|niam; uolo ut iusta mihi persoluens, humo corpus, deo animam commendes. Talia contra Robertus putabatur referre. Domine et dilecte amice; precipis mihi ut te sepeliam, cum iam quinque annis non te uiderim huius uigoris? Dimitte aiebat Wlstanus, sic est uoluntas dei; quam oportet impleri. Velociter nunc perge; nec uerba mea negligenter accipe. Tum episcopus tam manifeste uisionis, motus oraculo; statim solutus est sompno, regis auribus uisum intimauit. Cuius permissu accepto, concitato equitatu rapiebat arua morantia; Wigorniamque ire pergebat. Leuabat immensum laborem uis sancte amicitie; qua iam inde ab episcopatus initio deuinctus fuerat uiro, fauitque benignis uotis diuinitas; ut ante ad locum ueniret quam tempus humandi esset. Nam et monachi consulto moras protraxerant; eius operientes aduentum. Hoc modo prima nocte spiritus Wlstani, amicum pontificem; sed longe positum in exequiarum suscitauit offitium. Sequen|ti uero nocte, quasi de peregrinatione domum reuersus; multa miranda exhibuit presentibus. Quidam monachorum longi laboris pertesi quo¹ quisque poterat in angulos concesserant; ut liberi otio sine arbitris soporem adorirentur. Eis omnibus continuo aderat, stertentes pulsans, semisopitos suscitans. Confestim surgerent; sompnolentie renuntiarent. Inceperent psalterium a capite; finirentque cum commendatione anime. Fecerunt illi quod iusserat, nacti ex necessitate uirtutem; ut dum quod esset libitum facere nequirent ei quod licitum esset quoquo modo acquiescerent. Eorum erat unus, qui facinus immane animo quidem uoluntarat; sed necdum in opus produxerat. Et sanctus fremebundus apparuit; cogitationem sceleris inproperans, immanitatem exaggerans executionem comminatus. Satis superque fuisse quod cogitasset; ideoque ab expletione temperaret.² Si sibi uellet esse consultum;|cohiberet factum. Breui enim penas daturum, eodemque anno moriturum; si non absisteret illo peccato. Exteritus monachus, minarum fulmine, simul et tormento conscientie fidem dedit; eo adiurato de quo arguebatur se ulterius mancipatum iri regule.

He orders him to go to Worcester and bury him.

| col. 2.

|fo. 195b.

He appears to monks negligent in obsequies.

And to one meditating crime.

| col. 2.

Dies dominica que fuit sepulture aderat; iamque prefatus episcopus aduenerat; indicium uisionis uera fide uix pre festinatione anhelans. Ipse missis ex more celebratis beatum funus sepultura

Chapter 24.

¹ MS. altered from "que."

² Sic MS. for "temperaret."

Lamenta-
tions of
clergy and
people at
funeral.

| fo. 196.

curauit. Tum uero quasi nichil ante fletum esset; itum est in planctum, perrectum ingemitum. Exclamabat turba in plangorem; quem repperctum testudinum conuexa multiplicabant. Nec erat simplex fletus, aut simulatus; sed exprimebantur ueris singultibus lacrimae, religionis ruinam, patrie miseriam, in uno testantes homine. Difficulterque discerneres, qui iustiores fletus sui causas allegarent, | clerus an populus; dum hic pro tutela pastorem, ille pro disciplina doctorem clamaret. Senes an pueri; dum hi maturitatem, hi dulcedinem desiderarent. Diuites an pauperes; dum isti opum abstinentiam, illi expensarum munificentiam predicarent. Immisserunt tandem amantissimi patris ossa sepulchro; sed memoria nunquam in eorum sepulta est animo. Non enim conuentum uel ciuitatem facile inuenies; ubi defuncti episcopi reuerentia, non dicam maiori, sed nec pari colatur cura. Hoc omni ebdomada si dies uacat; hoc cum se ad eius obitum anni uolubilitas uersat. Monachi psalteria et missas; ciues largissimis expensis elemosinas frequentant. Ipse quoque ultroneus accurrit uotis precantium; nec est ullus cum fide petens, qui non mereatur suffragium.

Chapter 25.

| col. 2.

Book stolen
from
sacristan
recovered by
bargain with
the saint.

Libet¹ enim duobus exemplis palam facere; quod nec etiam in minusculis rebus amantes sui paciatur contristari. Non multo post eius transitum | liber quem epistolarem² uocant, ab ecclesia subreptus est. Intentabatur culpa secretarii³; cuius custodie fuisset illud. Fremebat in eum prior; grauis discipline ultionem, nisi liber redderetur comminatus. Monachus multa questione ultro citroque habita, sed elusus opera; tandem aliquando ad sancti recurrit suffragia. Nota beate anime pietas, spem dedit, preces suas cassatum non iri. Itaque aduolutus tumulo, petitiones innumurat, uota continuat; ut antike pietatis non oblitus, libri dampnum resarciret, minas prioris obtunderet. Pasciscitur etiam; ut ad uicem suffragii, toto anno candelam ad sepulchrum accenderet, et quindecim psalmos diceret. Eo die processit, ad populum sermo, et diligens de libro questio. Paululum more in medio.

¹ Wharton omitted this chapter and c. 26.

² Presumably an Epistle-Book. This is one of the rarest of the pre-Reformation service books and it seems that no copy of a date earlier than the 15th century is now extant (Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old Service Books*, p. 194). It is variously referred to as "pistol boc," "epistolarius," and in later times "pystils" (*Ibid.* pp. 232, 155, 13).

³ MS. altered from "culpam secretarium."

Nam ante uesperum codex redditus est; muliercule cuiusdam indicio, que furem arguit, latebram prodidit.

Eodem fere tempore serui | ens ecclesie laicus cuius fideli opera sacrista sepe fuerat usus; librum sibi surreptum ingemuit. Cumulabat merorem quod alienus fuerat; debitoremque creditor uehementer urgebat. Quo circa cotidie acclinis tumulo rogabat deum; ut per merita episcopi librum restitueret; et rapacitatem furis digna pena percelleret. Sibi propter hoc meritum cure futurum; ut deinceps fidele inpenderet ecclesie obsequium. Elapsi erant aliquot dies; et ipse assiduabat preces. Id ipso Ascensionis die solito enixius solitoque profusius fecit. Et forte tum diluculo latrocinii conscius audacia sua ingressum templi temerauit. Non dum orationem remiserat alter; et ille subito furore arreptus demoniaci horridos stridores attollere cepit. Quin etiam librum sinu extractum ostendere, et quando quoue modo, surripisset exponere. Ita cum predo alienam mentem induit; fidelis orator sua recepit. At uero frater patientis eiusdem | loci monachus homo non iners, nec imprudens non difficulter a ceteris optinuit, ut implorarent dulcedinem sancti; quatinus sanam mentem repararet furenti. Fecerunt hoc sincere fraternitatis affectu; nec multo post gauisi sunt inpetrate sanitatis effectum. Hinc mos inoleuit illius loci monachis; ut omnes corporum inequalitates, omnes animorum turbines, non secus acsi uiuenti grato susurrio ¹ insinuent. Recipit ² ille largo caritatis sinu cunctorum uota; mancipatque facto, adeo impetrata, quod si aliquis cassus abit; non crediderim sancte anime inpotentiam; sed uel precatorem indignum, uel rem qua ³ precatur non necessariam.

Chapter 26.
| *fo. 196b.*
Miraculous
recovery
of another
book.

| *col. 2.*

Growth of
custom of
appealing
to the dead
bishop.

Multos ⁴ de gloria eius dulci quiete animarunt sompnia; multos luce palam confortarunt uisa; quorum paucula tetigisse suffecerit. Erat quidam dei seruus inclusus; orationibus et solitudini ut id hominum genus deditus. Ei antiquus | hostis qui nequiret auferre religionem, inuidebat quietem; multas sancto uiro struens molestias. Ingenti conflictu nequissimi spiritus; ut non dicam una die, certa nec hora uacarent insidie. Poteratque reclusus fatigari, nec poterat uinci; cum aliud esset fragilitatis humane, aliud opis diuine. Hanc luctam compesuit sanctissimi antistitis oratio;

Chapter 27.
Anchorite
freed from
phantasies
by Wulf-
stan's tunic.
| *fo. 197.*

¹ Sic MS. for "susurro."

³ "qua" over erasure.

² D. "recepit."

⁴ Wharton omitted this chapter.

missa ei a Wigornia interiori tunica, quam staminiam dicimus; quam ille extremum agens flatum, indutus fuerat. Mirabile et uenerabile dictu quod sequitur. Statim ut indumentum accepit, immo ut uidit; fugerunt infestationum nebule, rediit sereni cordis tranquillitas. Nichil quod stimulare ulterius persensit; nichil quod peniteret suspirauit. Qua propter meritum suum infra sanctitatem Wlstani esse comperiens; tunicam loco reliquiarum uenerabatur. Multo enim studio inuolutam, cum soporem medietaretur, super ponebat capiti; | quod esset tutele contra phantasias inimici.

| col. 2.

Chapter 28
Vision of
the same
recluse.

Idem¹ quadam die iam sole in noctem occiduo, cum grandem strepitum ad fenestram pulsantis attonitis hausisset auribus; percunctantur auctorem. Responsum est afforis; Wlstanum esse Wigorniensem episcopum amicum eius; petere ut si aquam in promptu habeat; manibus diluendis suggerat. Remunerationi futurum; quod ecclesiam ingressus horas amico cantaret. Ad amicitie preterea pignus, daret sibi caracallam quam haberet. Recluso respondente se nullam habere, idque pontificem non latere; ille promissum retulit. Habiturum e uicino; si figeret mentem in deo. Tanta uero lux ex pontificalis ut² uidebatur corporis resultabat simulachro; ut circumpositas regiones hoc perstringeret chorusco. Iam uero ingressus ecclesiam, et post genuflexionem orationemque cruce frontem signatus; horarum officio dedit auspicium. Respondebant ei tres puelle | prope astantes; que per liniamentorum gratia, et speciei miraculo, essent humano generi spectaculo.³ Cantibus explicitis, ea que in medio stans eminentia stature uideretur ceteris prestare; benedictionem conquiniscenti⁴ episcopo indulsit. Interea solitarii lectum pulcherrime stratum, et caracallam superpositam imaginatus, cum suggessisset antistiti, quatinus quod rogauerat acciperet; hoc responsum accepit. Haberet ipse cum gratia, maioris quandoque gloriæ pignus. Mandaret preterea Wigornensibus officiosissimas salutes. Magnas eis gratias agere, maximas habere; quod tanto tempore orationibus inuigilarent. Omnia proficere ad eorum compendium; dum totum in eorum refunderetur sinum, quicquid pro eo putarent faciendum. Ita euauit uisio; quam dei seruus postero mane fidei declarauit indicio.

| fo. 197b.

¹ Wharton omitted this chapter. ² "ut" repeated and cancelled.

³ Durham abridgment reads "spectaculum."

⁴ MS. altered from "conquescenti."

Instabant fideliter monachi; missitabantur per Angliam epistole doloris¹ interpretes, amoris indices. Rogabatur, ut si deus | cuipiam aliquid de ipsius salute innotesceret; ipse bono nuntio anhelantium vota expleret. Fuit hoc tempore apud Brumetonam² bone uite presbiter Dunstanus nomine; cuius sanctitatis suaue fragrantiam iam inde a pueritia audisse me memini. Huic consimili uirtutum studio aduigilabat eiusdem uille reclusa; nulli uirorum sanctitate inferior femina. Nescires quem preferres; ita emulis certabatur bonis; presbiter instruendi doctrina; mulier parendi disciplina. Insignis religionis homines; quos deus theoricis speculationibus dignaretur, non dum hac uita carentes. Isti Wigornensibus mandauerunt; nichil de salute Wlstani dubitari debere. Vidisse se illum inter sanctos³ choros, nichilo minus quam ceteros habentem glorie; et aliquanto plusquam aliquos inferioris gradus, habentem gratie. Quorum qui non credit dictis in religionem committit; quam ut dixi tanta coluerunt | instantia; ut nostro nil presertim seculo supra. Denique quicquid dicebant, ita excipiebatur, quasi ex celestibus insonuisset templis; quasi ex diuinis profunderetur aditis.

Chapter 29.

| col. 2.

Wulfstan
seen among
the saints
in heaven
by a priest
and a female
recluse.

| fo. 198.

Explicuisse mihi uideor iussa uestra patres et domini; ut uitam sanctissimi uiri qualicumque stilo exculperem. Obedientiam ergo exhibui; et si uotum uestrum non expleui. Vestri erit iudicii; an utrumque. Excusat uoluntas impotentiam; quia et si nequiuu quod debui; feci quod potui. Paciscar ergo queso eternam uobiscum de paruo labore gratiam; quia studio uestro et uoluntati sex septimanis paulominus lucubraui. Par ergo erit; ut post huius anime corporisque discidium, totidem diebus pro me deo immoletis hostias; quot noctium ego Wlstano consecraui excubias. Valete.

Conclusion.

William of
Malmesbury
spent six
weeks on the
translation.

Explicit uita sancti Wulstani episcopi et confessoris, cuius sancta depositio celebratur quarto decimo kal. february.

¹ MS. altered from "dolores."

² D. "Briuentonam." H. "Briuentunam." It is unwise to suggest any identification in view of the material difference between the forms in which the name occurs and the uncertainty which overhangs the early life of William of Malmesbury.

³ D. "sanctorum."

THE ABRIDGMENT OF WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY'S
LIFE OF WULFSTAN IN MS. B, IV, 39b (D.) OF THE
LIBRARY OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF
DURHAM, COLLATED WITH MSS. HARL. 322 (H.)
AND LANSD. 436 (R.) IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

MSS.
Dunelm,
B. iv, 39b,
fo. 23; Harl.,
322, fo. 89b;
Lansd., 436,
fo. 55b.

Note.—Concerning the probable relation of the abridgments to the *Vita Wulfstani*, see Introd., p. xx. The words and passages in the abridgment which are not found in the *Vita* are here printed in italic type. The marginal references are to books and chapters in the unabridged version.

Incipit Uita sanctissimi Wlstani confessoris atque pontificis.

Gesta sanctorum patrum quorum uitam ex fide, fidem ex operibus militans ueneratur ecclesia; nequaquam accenderent aliquos ad sequelam, nisi conscia ueritatis antiquitas; eorum legendam posteris reliquisset. Unde ueteres ne ipsis mortalibus eorum commorerentur uirtutes; prudenter satis obliuioni scripti remedium obiecerunt, ut uiue uocis silentium uox scripta suppleret; quatinus ab eis magnifice gesta exciperet nouitas in fauorem, fama in preconium; populus in exemplum. Hinc est quod uenerabilis Wlstani uitam perpetuande uirtutis obtentu miracula etiam que adhuc calente memoria uidimus; stili officio posteris duximus exaranda, ut habeant quid admirentur in uiuo; quid imitentur in preambulo, quo delectentur in patrono.*

* This prologue is in D. only: H. and R. open with the following passage: "*Temporibus Edwardi regis Anglorum¹ uirtute uenerabilis Wlstanus Wigornensis² factus est episcopus, ob prerogatiuam sanctitatis et miraculorum frequentiam que in illo ab ineunte etate uirtus diuina operabatur, que nos subcompendio exarare curauimus, ut cognoscat generatio altera qualiter eum magnificauerit deus in ecclesia sanctorum.*" Continuing "*Celibem uitam . . .*" as in c. 2 below. At the opening of the prologue is scrawled in H. "*lectio prima.*"

¹ R. "*Temporibus sancti Edwardi confessoris piissimi regis Anglie.*"

² R. "*Wigorniensis.*"

Ubi sanctus Wlstanus natus fuit.

1. Pagus ¹ est in regione Merciorum non incelebris Warwicensis [I, 1.] dictus. Is habet uillam Uchentune uocatam, cuius iam inde a proauis inco(le) ² parentes uenerabilis Wlstani fuere. Pater Æthelstanus, mater Wlfgeua nominati; nec tenues censu, nec natalibus abiecti. Ita utentes seculo; ut redderent que sunt *Cesaris Cesari, et que sunt dei deo*. Illud perfunctorie; istud studiose. Industria in illis cum generositate certabat; ut alterum facultatum copiam, alterum uirtutum studium suppeditaret. Coniugali affectu magis quam pruritu *coniuncti*, meruere filium in preclarum Anglie decus euasurum. Puero Wlstanus uocabulum datum; ex anteriore materni, et ex posteriore paterni nominis compositum. Spei felicitis infans felici auspicio utrorumque parentum nomen mutuatus; qui utrorum sanctitatem in se transfundere[n]t [fo. 23b.] nescio an etiam incomparabiliter supergressurus. Eorum siquidem penitus euauisisset memoria; si non eos filius conspicua sanctitate animi extulisset in speculam. Primis elementis literarum apud Euesham iniciatus; perfectiori morum apud Burch scientia teneras informauit medullas. Gratum dictu quantum iam tunc futurarum uirtutum indolem crebris parturiebat indicis; uix dum primum puericie limen egressus. Ita quod maturum quod sanctum predicabilis pueri spirabat et loquebatur modestia. Ieiunium quantum id etatis homo pateretur operam non negare; humiles in excelsum orationes porrigere. Pueriles garritus illecebrarum fomitem primum in se tum in aliis aspernari. Mature uite uestigiis instare; adeo ut coeuos et etiam maiores natu supplicibus conueniret precibus, quatinus sibi bene uiuendi simulachrum ipsi bene uiuendo effigarent. Siquid perperam faceret arguerent; ipse libens correctioni manus daret. Deuotio prouexit usum, ut nichil uideret imitandum; quod non formaret in exemplum.

Qualiter euasit naufragium pudoris.

2. Regnante igitur illustri Anglorum rege Edwardo, sedit Wigornie Brihtegus pontifex ³; apud quem Wlstanus primeui floris indolem agens, singulis gradibus creuit in clero; donatus tandem honore sacerdotii in tempore suo.⁴ Celibem ⁵ uitam a puero duxit, et integri

¹ H. and R. omit this chapter

² MS. damaged.

³ Chronological error. Brihteah died in 1038, and Edward became king in 1043.

⁴ "Regnante . . . suo," H. and R. om.

⁵ R. inserts "enim."

[fo. 24.]

pudoris palmam in celum¹ tulit. *In quo qualiter² eum* gratia dei preuenerit, et subsecuta sit; *paucis expediam.* Conuenerat forte *Wlstanus* adolescens in campum, *gestiens qui conuenerant paribus colludere*; et puella *quedam ludentibus illis se inmiscuit, que Wlstano* ad naufragium pudoris et uoluptatis illecebram molesta erat. *Gestibus enim* impudicis sese plausibilem egit, ut *eius* seruiret oculis; *quem sibi inflectere satagebat.* *Wlstanus* uero infractori gestu totus³ resolutus; in amorem hanelabat. *Sed morituram uirginitatem pater misericordiarum continuo respexit, et adolescens* reducto animo lacrimas fudit; et in dumosa uepribusque hirsuta loca fugam iniit. Iacebat⁴ ergo longiuscule, *sociis suis* nichilominus iocum continuantibus. Ibi plurimis⁵ se ipsum accusanti; sopor irrepsit.⁶ *Et ecce* nubes serena et blando fulgore oculis intuencium alludens superne⁷ descendit, et aliquandiu iacentem obnubens; spectantibus in stuporem fuit. Precipitatis ergo⁸ cursibus illuc contendunt, sollicitisque sermonibus *Wlstanum* adorsi; quid illud⁹ fuerit requirunt. Nichil ille negandum duxit, set ut flamma celestis amoris que in illum reluxerat scintillaret in socios; rem omnem ordine aperit.¹⁰ *Tantumque gratiam deus seruo suo contulit*; quod numquam deinceps oculum eius uel animum sollicitauit ullius forme miraculum, numquam¹¹ turbulenta eluuiis dormientis interpellauit quietem. *Hec¹² se* Colemannus ab Heringo subpriori didicisse asseuerabat, et ab ipso sancto postmodum episcopo; eadem se audisse memorabat.

Qualiter induit monachatum.

[I, 2.]

3. Deinde Brihtegi¹³ tunc temporis Wigornensis¹⁴ episcopi curie se tradidit, ubi aliquandiu degens modesta conuersatione et sancta; animum pontificis ita sibi conciliarat, ut eum ultro ad presbiteratum promoueret; quamuis ille uix egreque ad consentiendum adduci potuisset, Postea abiectis omnibus apud Wigorniam¹⁵ induit monachum, Brihtego¹⁶ indulgente fauorem et habitum. Et ut non¹⁷ taceam famam eius quam habebat ad seculum; numquam euo nostro fuit monachus aut a uiciis remotior, aut in uirtutibus per-

[I, 3.]

¹ R. "celis." ² H. "taliter" ³ R. om. ⁴ H. "lectio secunda."

⁵ R. "plurimum."

⁷ R. "super eum."

⁹ R. "ille."

¹¹ H. "unquam."

¹³ H. and R. "Brictegi."

¹⁵ H. "Wigornam."

⁶ H. "erepsit."

⁸ H. and R. om.

¹⁰ H. and R. "aperuit."

¹² "Hec . . . memorabat." R. om.

¹⁴ R. "Wigorniensis."

¹⁶ H. and R. "Brictego." ¹⁷ R. "nunc."

fectior. Numerabat ¹ in deliciis *pondus diei et estus*; In ² *ieiunio fletu et planctu*, diebus omnibus ad unumquemque uersum septem psalmorum genua flectere; idemque noctibus | in psalmo centesimo | fo. 24b. octauo decimo facere *consuevit*. Plumam et ullum omnino lectum non habere, sopori non indulgere; sed surripere. Super gradus ante altare capite posito se humo ³ exponere, uel etiam codice aliquo uertici submisso; super lignum tenuem inuitare soporem. Ante unumquodque decem et octo altarium que in ueteri ecclesia erant septies in die prosterni; *que omnia non modo dura, sed iocunda et leuia faciebat uoluntas feruens; igne succenso celitus et latum mandatum nimis.*

De conflictu inter beatum Wlstanum et diabolum.

4. Mos ⁴ erat beato uiro noctibus ecclesias in uicino positas psal- [I, 4.] morum excubiis frequentare. Ibat ergo per medium cimiterium, non titubanti gressu nec hebetatus formidine; *factumque est* ut ad ecclesiam apostolorum principis nocte quadem ueniret. Hec quondam sedes episcopalis fuerat, sed eam sanctus Oswaldus clericis irreligiosis uacuauerat. Stabat ergo ante altare iam in preces effusus, iam totus in deum gestiens. Tum antiquus hostis qui non *quiescit* quin uel bona nobis inuideat, uel mala suggerat; cuiusdam rustici simulacrum indutus orantem talibus interpellat, que illum dementia in tam *profunde* noctis horrore eo adduxisset. Quocirca luctamen inter se *conserere*, quod experiri uellet cuius esset roboris; qui *erat* animi tam audacis. Hec et inmani rictu, et uoce fremebunda. At ⁵ Wlstanus parum motus, psalmorum seriem non interrupto ordine nichilominus exequabatur. Et casu uel potius diuino nutu uersum illum ruminabat. Dominus michi adiutor *est*; non timebo quid faciat michi homo. Dicentem hostis inuadit, duris ulnarum internodiis corpus ieiuniis attenuatum astringens. Ille primo monstrum brachiorum obiectu repellit, mox etiam ui | cario certamine aggreditur. Quippe comperto quod diabolus | fo. 25. sub illo simulationis lateret pallio; fidei arma *uibrans* in certamen animatur. Durauit hec lucta non paruo noctis tempore. Tandem larualis umbra succumbens animose fidei; acri fetore uicinum turbans aerem in auras euanuit. Ne tamen nichil uideretur fecisse; pedem iusti quanta *potuit* iniquitatis mole conculcans, non secus quam *ignoto* ⁶ perfodit cauterio. Penetrauit labes illa in ossa

¹ Numerabat . . . ignoro (end of c. 4). R. om. ² H. "et in."

³ Cott. Vesp. E. 9, "humil."

⁴ H. "lectio quarta."

⁵ H. "lectio quinta."

⁶ H. "ignito."

teste Godrigo¹ eiusdem conuentus monacho; qui ut auctor est Colemannus sepe se illud uidisse diceret, uulnus an ulcus dicam ignoro.

Qualiter prior effectus est in ecclesia Wigornensi.

[I, 5.] 5. Adolescebat² processu temporis in Wlstanō germen omne uirtutum, precipueque obedientia; et ad prelatos subiectio. Unde et³ prepositus ut tunc; prior ut nunc dicitur monachorum *ab antistite constitutus est. Talemque se in progressu uirtutum subiectis exhibuit, ut non deesset eis doctrina in uerbo; nec uita in exemplo.* Ferebatur⁴ per Angliam ipsius fame preconium; adeo ut potentissimi tunc optimates Anglorum eius amicitiam et audissime optarent, et constantissime tenerent. *De quibus Haraldus⁵ tunc comes regnum Anglorum magnanimitate morum affectans; unice uirum diligebat. Sed et Aldredus tunc Wigornensis episcopus; ei pro reuerentia sanctitatis prorsus in omnibus deferebat, et quibus uacare non potuerat; officii sui curam ei commisit. ut in confessionibus penitencium; et baptismo paruulorum.⁶* Crebro itaque summo mane diurnis expeditis officiis; conspicuum se prebebat ante fores ecclesie, ut facilius esset ad eum aditus; *maxime ut pauperum⁷ filios baptizaret. Ea enim tempestate ex auaricie sinu emergerat; quod pauperum filii ad baptismi gratiam non facile admittebantur; quia presbiteris quod offerent parentes non habebant. Ut ergo hanc pestiferam sacramentorum Christi iniuriam extirparet; in baptizandis paruulis* ultronee dignationis impendebat officium.

[I, 6.] *Qualiter matrone lasciuia impacta faciei eius alapa conpescuit.*

6. Erat⁸ in eadem urbe matrona forme liniamentis *predita*, et domesticis opibus⁹ locuples; *que* uerbis adulatoriis tanti uiri animum sollicitare presumpsit. Et diu quidem multumque cecum uulnus secreto aluerat, sed timore repulse dissimularat. Tandem cum cupidine superante eam castimonie depuduisset; prioris in ecclesia stantis pannos tactu impudenti temerauit. Quam cum ille oculi uigore perstrinxisset; ipsa omnipotentis dei nomen contestata ne suum aspernaretur eloquium rogauit. Tum Wlstanus arbitratus eam *gratia confessionis hoc egisse;* substitit, et in partem seorsum

¹ H. "Godrico."

² H. "lectio sexta."

³ H. and R. "etiam."

⁴ "Ferebatur . . . conpescuit" (end of c. 6).

R. om.

⁵ H. "Haroldus."

⁶ H. "puerorum."

⁷ H. "pauperiorum."

⁸ H. "lectio septima."

⁹ H. "diuitiis."

concessit. At femina oportunitatem nacta sermones femineis blandiciis et dolis uipereis infectos; sancto uiro *sibilabat*. Habere se domum sumptibus affluentem, *sed* procuratore carentem; quod uterque parens obierit, et maritus non assit. Debere sapientiam *illius* tante cure accedere, ut eius arbitratu et regatur familia; et dispensetur¹ pecunia. Quibus dictis cum inferret ille ut pecuniis in pauperes erogatis se ipsam uelari faceret; ea subiecit. Quin immo se hoc optare et orare; ut paululum rigore propositi inflexo, suum dignaretur cubile. Non tulit ulterius *uocem* prior *funestam*; sed loquentis *sermone* interrupto, pretentoque fronti crucis signaculo; fuge inquit fomes lasciuie, mortis filia; uas Sathane. Alapamque gannienti muliercule tanto nisu *impegit*; quod crepitus illise palme *circumquaque* audiretur. Migravit per urbem huiuscemodi fama facti, multisque diebus | cantabatur; qualiter alter Ioseph mulie- | fo. 26.
brem lasciuia et animo respuit, et manu compescuit.

Qualiter Winricus monachus diuinitus est afflictus eo quod beatum Wlstanum reprehendit, quia populo sedule predicauit.

7. Nec² illud *pretereundum* puto, quod cum *sedula deuotione* predicationis uerba populo omni dominica infundebat³; *quidam eiusdem ecclesie*⁴ monachus Winricus⁵ nomine obloqui et reprehendere⁶ duxit, quod officium antistitis sibi preriperet. Solius pontificis esse predicare, monacho silentium et claustrum competere. Hec ille non iam a tergo sed⁷ etiam quadam die amariore bile succensus; in os obiecit Wlstanus. Contra ille scuto paciencie armatus inquit Uerbum dei non esse⁸ alligatum; nichilque deo graciosius quam Christum annuntiare, populumque ab errore uie sue reuocare; ideoque se non omisurum. Nocte itaque sequente⁹ in uisione¹⁰ ductus est¹¹ ad tribunal cuiusdam ignoti iudicis, a quo redargutus, cur seruum suum de bono predicationis pridie obiurgasset; iussus est in paupimentum¹² sterni et cedi. Vir¹³ acriter fustigatus; nichil aliud inter tormenta nisi miserere mei domine clamitabat. Tandem fide data quod non peccaret ulterius in sanctum dei; dimissus est. Mox ergo ut dies illuxit prioris pedibus auoluitur commissum fatetur; et

¹ H. "dispendentur." ² H. "lectio octaua." ³ R. "infunderet."

⁴ H. om. ⁵ R. "Winrichus."

⁶ "dignum" added in R. ⁷ H. "ubi."

⁸ H. and R. "est."

⁹ H. and R. "sequenti."

¹⁰ H. "uisionem."

¹¹ "monachus ille" added in R.

¹² H. and R. "pauimento."

¹³ H. and R. "ubi."

ordinem uisionis exponit. *Attestantur ei*¹ *in maxillis lacrimae, et liuores protuberantes in scapulis. Cuius calamitate motus uir dei benedictionem ei dedit; statimque*² *sanitas ei*³ *rediit, omnemque doloris uestigium conqueiuit.*

Qualiter a beato viro signo crucis obiecto quidam ab alto cadens in ecclesia mortem euasit.

[I, 8.]

[fo. 26b.]

8. *Quodam*⁴ *tempore cum super ecclesie tectum fabricam quandam construerent in qua dependerent campane; ad illam erigendam gradus scalarum aptabant, quibus operantes insisterent; et pendulos in aere gressus firmarent. Iamque funibus subuecte stabant scale, immensa proceritate sursum prominentes; artificesque in eis, mutuo sibi structure necessaria ministrantes. Quorum unus dum ceteris prurptius arduos meditaretur ascensus; preceps ruit. Wlstanus uero eminus stans et intuens qualiter ille per longum inane deorsum uolueretur; indoluit uehementer, signumque sancte crucis opposuit. Et casus qui erat ab altitudine ad minus pedum quadraginta, non solum corpus ruentis non attriuit; sed nec etiam animum frigente sanguine ut solet hebetauit. Surrexit ergo incolumis sue reputans temeritati quod cecidit; et Wlstani sanctitati quod euasit.*

Qualiter episcopus effectus est.

[I, 10.]

9. Eadem tempestate cum Kynegisus⁵ Eboracensis archiepiscopus diem clausisset ultimum; Aldredus Wigornensis⁶ episcopus successioni illius acclamatur. Idque Edwardo⁷ regi consedit, simplicis anime⁸ uiro. Aldredus ergo pro pallio Romam profectus. Nicholaum⁹ papam inuenit; non per omnia precibus eius annuente. Neque enim papa eum Eboracensi¹⁰ pallio insignire uoluit; nisi Wigornensi¹¹ presulatu renunciasset. Tandem¹² renunciauit, sicque pallium promeruit. Et quia negocia quedam ecclesiastica expedienda erant in Anglia; cardinales quidam cum archiepiscopo ad regem missi sunt. Imminente ergo Quadragesima; uenerunt Wigorniam,¹³ ad regem in pascha deducendi. Cardinalesque apud Wlstanum mansionem acceperunt, qui eis hospitalitatis gratia

¹ H. and R. "illi."² R. "Eius."³ H. and R. om.⁴ H. "lectio nona."⁵ H. "Kinegius."

R. "Kinegius Eborasensis."

⁶ R. "Wigorniensis."⁷ H. "Eadgaro."⁸ R. "animi."⁹ H. and R. add "tunc temporis."¹⁰ H. "Aboracensi."¹¹ R. "Wigorniensi."¹² "Tandem . . . legerit." R. om.¹³ H. "Wigornam."

et debito deuotionis officio ; sedule pro uiribus ministrabat. Illi autem agnita sanctitate, et parsymonia uiri ; qua corpus humiliauerat spiritui, et spiritum creatori ; eum in ultroneam familiaritatem ascuerunt. Tribus enim in ebdomada diebus omnis cibi abstemius,¹ perpetuo | linguam cohibebat silentio ; ne ullo saltem uerbo laberetur. Tribus reliquis ; porros caulesue coctos uel elixos, et panem cibarium comedebat ; ut in his² magis contineret naturam ; quam deliniret gulam. Singulis preterea diebus tres pauperes *alebant*, ministrans eis uictum et *ablutionem* pedum. Hec cardinalibus [I, 11.] incitamento fuerunt ; quo eius mirarentur uitam ; qui quod aliis *agendum statuit* ; anticipabat exemplo.³ Denique ad curiam reuersi dum Wigornensis episcopi uentilaretur electio, nomen *Wlstan*i tulerunt in medium ; eum pontificio dignum *astruentes*, et ad hoc animum Eduuardi⁴ regis *inclinauerunt*. Assensique sunt omnes, ille fauore ; illi testimonio, omnes iudicio. Sanctus ergo ad curiam *ueniens multum reuerti et reclamare cepit* ; merensque et inuitus *episcopatum suscepit*. Qui cum consecraretur ; eius pronosticum⁵ hoc fuit. Ecce uere Israelita ; in quo dolus non est. Nichil uerius [I, 12.] experietur, qui eius conuersionem uiderit ; audierit, legerit.

Qualiter monacho Eveshamie integram contulit sanitatem.

10. Sullimatus⁶ itaque in episcopum Wlstanus ; utramque *intemeratam* professionem tenuit. Sic episcopus ; ut religione non abiuraret monachum. Sic monachus ; ut auctoritate representaret episcopum. Diocesim suam sedulo peragrabat, officii sui *promptus* [I, 15.] *executor*.⁷ Materiam ultro rapiebat, ut Christum semper sonaret ; [I, 14.] Christum semper auditoribus proponeret. In itinere oratorium [I, 15.] nullum insalutatum preteribat.⁸ Quadam⁹ itaque die ad comitatum euocatus ; cum per Euesham¹⁰ iter haberet, et socii obstrepent quo minus ad ecclesiam diuenteret ; ingressus *nichilominus ecclesiam*, facta oratione et predicatione in conuentu ; quendam ex eodem conuentu monachum diutina febrium uexatione mori *proxi-*

¹ H. "abstinens."

² H. "hiis."

³ H. "exemplum."

⁴ H. "Eadwardi."

⁵ H. "prognosticon."

⁶ At the opening of this chapter in R. a passage is inserted summarizing the remainder of c. 9 above : "Post hec uacante sede episcopali Wigornie, de assensu cleri et populi uolente et conferente glorioso confessore beato rege Edwardo ; beatus Wlstanus licet inuitus honorem pontificalem suscepit. Sullimatus . . ."

⁷ R. "persecutor."

⁹ H. begins new chapter.

⁸ "Quadam . . . Eylicus." R. om.

¹⁰ H. "Eouesham."

fo. 27b.

num agnouit, et ad eum uisitandum | perrexit. Qui autem cum eo uenerant; instabant ut cepto itineri insisteret, pretendentes longum iter et diei processum. Quibus ille. Meum est de uisitando infirmo saluatoris mei¹ implere preceptum. Veniens ergo ad egrotum; miserabili illius calamitati et dolori condoluit, totusque profusus in lacrimas orationem fudit; eique benedictionem dedit recessit. Statimque ut egressus est episcopus; egressum est² quicquid dolebat languidus. Nam continuo in pedes conatus poscit³ pannos, clamat⁴ calceos; lectum quem diu fouerat aspernatur, laudans nomen domini. Erat autem nomen ei⁵ Eylricus.⁶

De aduentu Normannorum in Angliam.

[, 16.]

II. Quinto anno collati Wlstano episcopatus; rex Edwardus⁷ in fata concessit⁸; magnum seminarium discordie relinquens Anglie; hinc Haraldo⁹ inde Willelmo comite Normannie eam sibi iure uendicantibus. Haraldus¹⁰ tamen uel fauore impetrata, uel ui extorta corona; regnum paulominus totum obtinuit. Profecturus itaque rex ut contumaciam Northanymbrorum¹¹ quam ferro frangere non erat, lenioribus remediis, et pacis studio sibi subiugaret; sanctum uirum secum adduxit. In illo itinere quamplura regi et regno futura prenunciavit, testificatusque est¹² ei quanto detrimento sibi et Anglie foret, nisi nequicias morum correctum ire cogitaret. Quod in aduentu Normannorum in Angliam eodem anno claruit. Uiuebatur tunc in Anglia peruersis moribus, et pro pacis affluentia; deliciarum feruebat luxus. Eratque mos quorundam qui emularentur capillorum fluxu feminas, et luxuriante coma muliebrem molliciem preferebant; erubescens esse quod nati fuerant. Gestabat autem uir dei paruum cutellum quo uel extrema unguium uel sordes | librorum purgare consueuerat. Hoc ubi tales inuenerat¹³; cesariei luxuriam amputabat. Et infrendens¹⁴ in eos minacibus uerbis arguebat; quia numquam ad improbos blanditiis¹⁵ indulgebat. Hanc autem uirorum inerciam tanta inbecillitas insecta est; quod in congressu Normannorum cum Anglis ita omne

fo. 28.

II, 1.]

¹ H. "me."² H. inserts "pariter."³ H. "poposcit."⁴ Altered from "clamauit" in D. H. "clamauit."⁵ H. "eius."⁶ H. "Eigelricus."⁷ H. "Eadwardus."⁸ R. "discessit."⁹ H. "Haroldo." R. "Aroldo."¹⁰ H. and R. "Haroldus."¹¹ H. "Northanymbrorum." R. "Norhamhimbromum."¹² H. and R. "testificatus ei."¹³ H. "inuenit."¹⁴ H. "frendens." R. "inferentes."¹⁵ H. and R. "blanditiis."

robur patrie cum rege eorum decidit, quod ¹ post primam pugnam numquam denuo resumptis viribus ad libertatem temptauerint resurgere. ²

Qualiter baculum et anulum resignauit.

12. Rex igitur Willhelmus uictoria potitus, et regni Anglorum insignitus diademate; apud Westmonasterium concilium celebrari fecit, presidentibus sedis apostolice sedis legatis Hermenfrido ³ Sedunensi episcopo; et presbiteris cardinalibus Iohanne et Petro. Hii Stigandum qui pollutis pedibus sanctuarium dei conculcauerat; archiepiscopatu Dorobernie spoliauerunt, cui successit Lanfrancus ⁴ uir digne laudabilis; ac literarum scientia insignis. Apud hunc ergo simplicitatis et impericie accusatus Wlstanus, et quasi homo idiota et sine literis deponendus decernitur; rege id ⁵ ipsum annuente, et hoc ⁶ prescribente. ⁷ Iubetur ergo baculum resignare cum anulo. Et quia rex ab honoribus pristinis Anglos extirpare ⁸ et suos erigere satagebat, ut regnum sic facilius sibi conciliaretur in solidum; instabat impertune precipiendo. At Wlstanus inquit ⁹ ego insufficientiam meam non ignoro, et huius sancte sinodi sententie cedens; resignabo baculum sed non tibi, immo ei cuius conuentia ¹⁰ eum suscepi. Accedens ergo ¹¹ ad tumulum Edwardi ¹² regis, in lapidem quo defuncti corpus tegebatur baculum fixit; cessitque rigor lapidis ad manum imprimantis, tamquam molle lutum. Admirabantur intuentes uirgam inmersam silici nec moueri; quasi radicibus niteretur, declinare non ad |fo. 28b. dexteram nec ad sinistram; nunc quomodo ferrum ¹³ inheret lapidi, terre decumbentes ¹⁴ explorant; nunc admotis manibus si forte moveatur. At Wlstanus descendens ab altari exutus pontificalibus; inter monachos iam monachus simplex resedit. Res deferitur in sinodum, accurrunt plurimi; contemplantur baculum immobiliter ¹⁵ herentem silici, et quo ¹⁶ teneretur non agnoscunt. Lanfrancus autem fidem dictis non adhibens, accersito Gunnulfo ¹⁷ Rofensi episcopo; iubet ut baculum deferat. Qui cum leui tactu loco ¹⁸ amouere putans immobilem reperit, et obstupuit. Rediens refert quod inuenerat; accurrunt ceteri, con-

¹ R. "ut."

³ H. and R. "Hemefrido."

⁵ H. and R. "rege in id."

⁷ H. and R. "precipiente."

⁹ H. "inquit." R. "inquit"

¹¹ H. and R. "igitur."

¹³ R. om.

¹⁵ R. "immobilem."

¹⁷ H. "Gundulfo."

² H. and R. "assurgere."

⁴ R. "Lanfrancus."

⁶ R. om.

⁸ H. and R. "exturbare."

¹⁰ H. and R. "auctoritate."

¹² H. "Eadwardi."

¹⁴ R. "discumbentes."

¹⁶ R. "et in quo."

¹⁸ R. om.

siderant tangunt; et non inuenientes quo molimine sic moles lignea sursum feratur, agnoscunt esse uirtutem dei. Aduocatur itaque Wlstanus, et uenienti assurgit curia; iubet archiepiscopus ut resumat¹ baculum, subeat honorem; quo diuina eum gratia dignum iudicauit. Ille autem impossibilitatem suam et onus impar uiribus pretendit, asserens in loco sancto ministrum sanctum statuendum; qui sciat cum Moÿse calciamenta soluere, et calciare cum Paulo, in preparationem euangelii pacis. Uictus tandem² instancia archiepiscopi et regis; coram omnibus accessit ad sepulchrum, accepit baculum; recepit depositum, quod ei uis diuina seruauerat; alii non restituentum. Ad hec Lanfrancus ad pedes eius prouoluitur, fatetur delictum; implorat ueniam, dicens simplicitatem eius deo amicam et beneplacitam; qui sapientiam huius mundi stultam fecit ut confundat fortia, et humilibus infundat gratiam. Huius autem memoria miraculi usque adeo per Angliam grata et celebris habita est, quod non fuit opus scripto comprehendere, quod erat omnium assertionem et attestationem subnixum

[fo. 29

| Qualiter circa sanctum uirum in concilio diuina dispensatione actum sit.

St. Luke
xvi. 8.

[II, 1]

13. Et³ quoniam filii huius regni prudentiores sunt filiis lucis in generatione sua; quante simplicitatis fuerit iste in exterioribus ubi silentium turbo strepentium⁴ confundit, etiam exemplum subnectam. Aldredo itaque Eboracensi archiepiscopo diem suum functo; successit Thomas Baiocensis canonicus, uir morum compositione multis preferendus. Wlstanus itaque nactus benignitatem temporum, regis fauorem; possessiones Wigornensis ecclesie quas iam dicti Aldredi potentia eliminauerat, debitis usibus reformare satagebat. Instituit ergo litem; aduersus eius successorem. Die ergo⁵ partibus prefixo, utraque pars apparuit; et Wlstanus uillas ecclesie sue ab Aldredo peruasas, nec postea redditas; restitui sibi postulabat, utpote quas a retro temporibus largitionibus regum iuri suo competere astruebat. Thomas⁶ e diuerso non solum predia non reddenda dicebat,⁷ uerum etiam Wigornensem ecclesiam que extiterat antecessorum suorum; iuris sui esse clamitabat.⁸ Eam causam magno egit impetu, primo Anglie; mox apud Alexandrum papam⁹ Rome.

¹ H. "sumat." R. "sumet."² H. and R. "autem."³ "Et . . . abieritque uictor" R. om.⁴ H. "obstreptentium"⁵ H. "igitur."⁶ H. "Tomas." ⁷ H. om.⁸ H. "clamabat."⁹ H. "amplexandum pomam."

Lanfranco presente *et contradicente*; qui *ius Cantuariensis* ecclesie periclitari *silentio suo uidens onus negotii in se transumpsit*. Tum papa qui Lanfrancum utpote magistrum suum quondam grauabatur offendere; sed nec Thomam uellet premere, causæ cognitionem¹ in concilium Anglie traiecit. Magno ergo conflictu et procerum Anglie conuentu; res acta est. Assistebat Thome Odo frater regis uterinus comes Cantie, et Baiocarum episcopus; quem comitabatur uniuersitas magnatum regni, sed et rex ipse in fauorem fratris uergebat. Quid plura? Consistunt partes, uentilatur causa. Egreditur Thomas cum suis quid opponeret, quid oppositis responderet | compositurus. At Wlstanus interim indulgebat sopori. | fo. 29b. Reuersus alter; multum² sensuum acumine et uerborum flumine causam dixit.³ Ille a sociis expergefactus psalmos *de more ruminat*.⁴ Iussus tandem exire ut strictiori consilio *procuraret* responsum; horam nonam incepit et percantauit. Aliis porro referentibus ut alia magis quam psalmos curaret, et id ad quod uenerat expediret; respondit. Stulti, nescitis quid dominus dixit; Dum steteritis ante reges et presides nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini, dabitur enim uobis in illa hora; quid loquamini. Gestabat tunc in manibus uitas beatorum patrum et⁵ pontificum Dunstani et Oswaldi qui ambo quondam diuersis temporibus Wigornensi ecclesie pre-sederant, eosque coram se profitebatur cernere; quos cause non dubitabat adesse. Ita ingressus interroganti regi quid in suo inuenisset⁶ consilio; respondit, consilium meum in uobis est; et cor uestrum in manu dei. Statimque rex cum⁷ uerbo fauorem suum uiro⁸ usque adeo inclinauit, quod edicto proposito omnia ablata ei restitui iussit; et duodecim uillas quas Aldredus usque ad diem mortis sue usurpauerat, Wigornensi ecclesie indulsit; data archiepiscopo Thome prediorum compensatione. Sed et communi decreto declaratum est episcopum Wigornensem Cantuariensi archiepiscopo subiectum esse debere, nichilque in illum iuris Eboracensi competere. In eodem concilio apud Pedridan habito⁹ uisitatio Cestrensis episcopatus ei commissa est a Lanfranco archiepiscopo, sicque duos episcopatus discedens reportauit; qui unum quasi amissurus uenerat. Huius narrationis Colemannus testem citat Walkelinum⁹ Wintoniensem episcopum, qui sepe pre admiratione referre solebat; quomodo uir sanctus pene solus tot optimatibus reniten-

¹ H. "cognitionem."³ H. "dixit."⁶ H. "uenisset."⁸ H. om.² H. "multo."⁴ H. "ruminabat."⁷ H. "et hunc" for "cum."⁹ H. "Walclinum."⁵ "patrum et" H. om.

tibus, tot prudentium uirorum consilium frustraerit; abieritque uictor.

[fo. 30.

[II, 4.]

| *Qualiter mulier de Euesham curata est a spiritu nequam.*

14. Erat¹ in prouincia Eoueshamie² mulier quedam cuius mentem sic spiritus nequam impleuerat; quod spretis laribus et parentum affectibus, per deuia camporum quo eam tulisset impetus uagabatur. Quod parentes egre tulerunt, et comprehensam uinculis innexuerunt. Conducti sunt medici, qui artificio morbum fugarent. Adducti presbiteri qui salubri exorcismo animum reuocarent. Inter quos et prior Eoueshamensis³ qui Colemanno huius rei testis fuit et index; sicut ceteri spe frustrata, abcessit. Eum tamen quia bone uite hominem nossent; cognati mulieris quid facto opus sit consulunt. Ille exhibendam censet Wlstanu episcopo. Ad quem cum produceretur; mox ut eam uidit miserie patientis medullitus indoluit, protenta manu benedixit; nescio quid archane orationis⁴ innummurans. Nulla in medio mora.⁵ Statim resumpsit egrota sensum, statim sapuit; affines cognouit, episcopum benedixit. Ille autem precepit ut domum rediret, benediceret non Wlstanum; sed deum. Virtutes amaret, pudiciam non perderet; ne deterius ei⁶ aliquid contingeret. Nec fuit uana⁷ exhortatio mulier enim post modicum sanctimonialis accipiens uelum; secularibus omnino abrenunciavit, sanctam deoque placentem uitam egit.

Qualiter hominem de Cliua areptum a demonio liberauit.

[II, 5.]

15. Similem uirtutem in simili morbo apud Cliuam⁸ in pago Glocestrensi⁹ exhibuit. Mansitabat¹⁰ ibi quidam agrestis uite et

¹ This chapter is found in an abbreviated form in R. "Erat in prouincia Eueshamie mulier quedam in tantum demoniaca quod spretis laribus et parentum affectibus per deuia camporum quo eam tulisset impetus uagabatur, quam parentes eius uinculis ligatam cum ad uirum dei perduxissent, mox ut eam uidit miserie patientis medullitus indoluit protenta manu benedixit, et statim resumpsit egrota sensum, statim sapuit; affines cognouit episcopum benedixit." Continuing "Similem . . ."

² H. "Euesamie."

³ H. "Eueshamensis."

⁴ H. "resurrectionis."

⁵ H. "moram."

⁶ H. om.

⁷ H. "cassa."

⁸ H. "Diuum." R. "Cleuam."

⁹ R. "Glocestrensi."

¹⁰ After "exibuit" R. reads: "Nam quandam demoniacum quem malignus spiritus ita occupauerat (sic) ut proxima queque uel manibus uel dentibus discerperet in remotiora uero intorqueret, conuitia iacularetur sputa. In cuius ore tanta erat uariorum uocum confusio; ut exercitum loqui crederes. Qui cum ad uirum dei per amicos catenatus adduceretur statim uiso pontifice totis intremiscens membris stridebat dentibus; sputa euomans magno hiatu

conditionis homo; *quem malignus spiritus ita occupauerat*, ut proxima queque uel manibus *decerperet*¹; uel uastis molaribus corroderet. In remotiora uero dentes moleret, *intorqueret conuitia*; iacularetur sputa. *Parentes*² *eius apprehensum*, crudis loris in-nexuerunt, *que* ille mordicus | conscidit; *et* ut stuppea fila dirupit. | fo. 30b.
At illi ferreis cathenis inuoluunt *clamantem, et omnes* rabido strepitu *exterrentem*; posti uel sponde lecti affigunt. Crederes ex uno ore exercitum loqui, tanta erat uariarum uocum confusio. *Tandem* conquesti sunt antistiti in eadem uilla manenti, rogantes ut pre-sentiam suam misero non negaret. *At ille* nichil cunctatus; illos preeuntes ad domum comitatus est. Paciens uero uiso pontifice totis intremiscens membris; *stridebat dentibus*, patulo rictu sputa euomens; magno hiatu *obstreperere*³ *cepit*. Tanto incommodo sacer-dos *inpalluit*, et expansis in celum manibus orauit. Domine Jesu Christe qui legionem demonum ab homine fugatam in porcos abire *fecisti*⁴; libera hominem *istum* a diabolo, et redde ei rectum intel-lectum. Conuersusque ad demonem; discede inquit inmunde spiritus ab hac ymagine dei, et da honorem spiritui sancto. Mirum est dicere quod sequitur. Confestim *homo* respuit, *confestim* oculos *igneos rotare desiit*; *et ad benedictionem episcopi omnino* conualuit. Idem⁵ post hec non paucis uiuens annis; miraculorum beati uiri, eciam post eius obitum testis fuit, tanto fidelius; quanto in se expertus felicius. Alio quoque tempore *in eadem uilla arrepticium* [II, 6.] *quendam consortia*⁶ *hominum aspernantem, et per saltus euagantem*; *sola oratione reuocauit*.

Qualiter leprosus per aquam qua post missam sacras diluit manus curatus est.

16. Uilla est episcopatus Kemeseya⁷ dicta in qua *episcopus* [II, 7.] *aliquandiu morabatur*. Venerat eo⁸ ex Cantia pauper,⁹ et inter alios cotidianam stipem capientes assederet. Miser cui preter eges-tatis incomodum morbus irrepserat quem regium uocant; *qui* ita

strepere cepit. Tanto in postmodo Wlstanus inpalluit; et expansis in celum manibus dicens. Domine Iesu Christe . . ." continuing as in the text above.

¹ H. "discerperet."

² H. "Hunc parentes."

³ H. "strepens."

⁴ H. "misisti." R. "iussisti."

⁵ "Idem . . . reuocauit." R. om.

⁶ H. "consortium."

⁷ H. "Kemeseya."

⁸ H. "ei."

⁹ This chapter is much abridged in R. :—"Pauper quidam cui preter . . . cadauere. Huius Eilmerus presbiter episcopo familiaris misertus egrotum hospicio suscepit; aquamque qua post missam pontifex sacras diluerat manus, per famulum iussit . . . reformata." Dots indicate agreement with D.

|fo. 31.

lenta tabe omnes artus infecerat, ut non diceret eum uero uti corpore; sed uiuo ¹ circumferri cadauere. *Horror* | erat omnibus eum cernere; quia totus *prurulenta* sanie stillabat. Denique dispensator episcopi Arthurus cuius testimonio et *hec* et quedam alia nituntur; sepe rogatus ab eo ne suum *aspernaretur* colloquium, *eum etiam uisu abhorrebat*. Tandem adiuratus *per nomen domini*; substitit, et quid uellet interrogauit. At ille submurmurat oriundum se Cantie, et ter in sompnis *commonitum*; ut *adiret Wlstanum* episcopum ob recuperandam sanitatem, *petitque ut hanc aduentus sui causam ei* insinuaret. Suggestit *dispensator* postulata, set *episcopus* humane glorie *fauorem deuotans* egre respondit; suum non esse tantum attemptare miraculum. Ita cassa fuisset suggestio; nisi *suffragaretur* Eýlmeri ² presbiteri sollicitudo. *Hic in oculis episcopi magnus erat et uenerabilis, utpote qui cum episcopo* emulo religionis contendebat officio; in quo nichil erat quod falso ³ laudare amicitia posset. Is igitur egrotum suscipiens hospicio, pio quo poterat delinibat obsequio; *querens oportunitatem* quomodo episcopo miraculum quod palam extorquere non posset; furtim surriperet.⁴ Et quia *episcopus* nullum diem preteriret sine sacrificio misse; aquam qua post missam sacras diluerat manus, iam dictus presbiter dedit *dispensatori*; eamque iussit infundi balneo egroti, lauit se ⁵ leprosus uisu horridus; carne maculosus. Et mirum in modum continuo pustularum tumor *resedit*, letiferum uirus effluxit ⁶; et in breui omnis caro in puerilem puritatem refluuit, et quod magis *stuppeas* impetigo et scabies capitis abolita est; et cesaries capillis succrescentibus reformata.

Qualiter signo crucis obiecto imminens ruina domus ad tempus suspensa est.

[II, 8.]

17. Lundoniam ⁷ ad curiam proficiscens; apud uillam Wicumbe dictam ueteris tecti et ruinam minantis hospicium suscepit. Mane autem cum iter meditaretur *arripere* ⁸; domus tota ⁹ crepitare tignaue cum trabibus deorsum uergere ceperunt. Turbati serui-
|fo. 31b. entes | omnes foras exilierunt, solum dominum intus oblit; adeo inconsiderata ¹⁰ formido mentes eorum perculerat. Iam uero foris positi *memores domini sui*, inclamabant ¹¹ eum magnis uocibus ut

¹ H. om.² H. "Eilmeri."³ H. inserts "labore."⁴ D. "subriperet" altered to "surriperet." H. "subriperet."⁵ H. om.⁶ H. "effluxit."⁷ This chapter is omitted in R.⁸ H. "eripere."⁹ H. om.¹⁰ H. "considerata,"¹¹ H. "inclamant."

exiret; antequam edes tota corrueret. Nemo enim ut eum ¹ educeret; intrare presumpsit. At ille *scuto fidei munitus stetit immobilis, et uirtute uiri imminens* ² *ruina suspensa est; donec omnibus extractis sarcinulisque impositis animalia promouerentur. Tunc uir sanctus* pedem domo extulit, statimque horrifico fragore domus tota concussa, ³ *parietes et tectum in unum rudenum chaos confudit.* ⁴

De muliere in eadem villa uirtute sancti uiri a graui morbo curata.

18. Hic ⁵ ponit Colemanus miraculum in eadem uilla exhibitum [II, 9.] annis quidem posterius, sed ueneratione *dignius*. ⁶ Erat autem ⁷ ibi uir quidam Sperdingus ⁸ nomine, opibus affluentibus fortunatus; et in sancti reuerentiam pronus. *Hic* sumptibus suis *construxerat* ecclesiam, *quam* a nullo nisi a *Wlstando* uoluit consecrari. Quod *quia* inconsulto diocesis illius episcopo fieri non posset; *licenciam* a Remigio Lincolnensi episcopo impetrauit. Die igitur *statuta* uenit episcopus; et dedicationi ecclesie, sermoni ad populum; confirmationi puerorum, sollicitam operam ⁹ impendit. Quibus explicitis; domum uiri pransurus ingreditur. Tum mater familias *uerens* cum *episcopo* colloquium serere; Colemanus auribus dolorem suum exponit. *Pedissecam* ¹⁰ suam *gravi* morbo tabescere, utpote cuius caput infando tumore lasciuat; lingua extra palati concuum promineat. Linguam ipsam ita protuberare; ut magis uideatur esse bouis quam hominis. Victum ei omnem negatum, et si quid sumatur non esse cibum dentibus commestitatum ¹¹; set potum cocleari infusum. *Colemannus* rem episcopo insinuauit. Habebat ille aureum unum cuspide lancee saluatoris *perforatum*; *quem intinxit in aqua*, quam eo die pater ad consecrationem ecclesie benedixerat; *et muliercule direxit. Bibit, et medicabilem* potum sanitas matura *consecuta* ¹² *est*; sicut | *matrona* eidem Colemanus | *fo. 32.* post aliquot dies et ipsa iurata et testibus nixa *asseruit*.

De ceco illuminato.

19. A ¹³ Wigornia quadam *die* ¹⁴ *carpebat iter* extremus ut semper [II, 10.] agminis sui, ne psalmos ullius colloquium interpolaret. Casu ade-

¹ H. om.

² H. "impendens."

³ H. "excussa."

⁴ H. "confundit."

⁵ This chapter is omitted in R.

⁶ H. "dignus."

⁷ H. "enum."

⁸ H. "Sperdignus."

⁹ H. "curam."

¹⁰ H. "pedissequam."

¹¹ H. "conmasticatum."

¹² H. "subsecuta."

¹³ This chapter is omitted in R.

¹⁴ H. "uice."

quitabat ei Colemannus. Interea conspicatus eminus *uidit* cecum *quendam* inclamantem, innuitque monacho ut *ei* elemosinam porri-geret; id a se postulari arbitratus. At cecus qui *alterius rei* spem animo conceperat; calamitatem suam Colemanno *suggerit*, oratque pro deo ut episcopus gradum paulisper contineat; *quia suis meritis* refundi *sibi* lumen oculorum *sperabat*. Refert ille episcopo. *Episcopus reluctatus* diu et *pretendens* hec ab eo *exigi non debere*; *institit nichilominus* monachus pie uiolentus, et laudabiliter inportunus; donec ex equite peditem faceret. *Nichil enim* erat quod a sancto pectore Colemannus non extorqueret. *Episcopus itaque* super oculos ceci psalmo ad te leuauit cantato; adiecit signaculum crucis et *discessit*. Post *aliquot dies* Colemannus Wigorniam regressus; reperit illum perspicua oculorum luce uestitum, *laudantem deum*; qui hoc *sibi meritis Wlstan* largiri dignatus est.

De quadam sanctimoniali ceca in Wiltonia curata.

[II, 11.]

20. Huic¹ miraculo illud proxima similitudine accedit, quod Wiltonie fecit. Veniens eo deuoto sanctimonialium exceptus obsequio; inter eas assedit. Erat eiusdem congregationis femina Gunildi² dicta regis Haraldi³ filia. Huius oculos adeo infestus tumor inuaserat, ut et moles palpebrarum uisum obduceret; et massa carnea oppleret. Hinc querimonia delata est⁴ pontifici; iussa est adduci. Nam et memorie paterne non nichil deferendum arbitratus; dignam misericordiam exhibuit *filie*, pro miseria *eius* turbatus *spiritu*; totus indoluit. Oculis igitur signum crucis *pretendens*⁵; et ne multo uerborum | circuitu citum retardem miraculum; continuo detæctis⁶ et erectis palpebris lucem serenam infudit.

[fo. 32b.]

De quodam graui infirmitate afflicto per aquam benedictam et sancti oratione curato.

[II, 12.]

21. Rex⁷ Willelmus morem regno induxerat, ut cuncti optimates ad curiam ter in anno conuenirent; de *negotiiis* regni tractaturi. Huius itaque *consuetudinis* necessitate uir sanctus astrictus, Wintoniam ante pascha ire maturabat. Iacebat in semita homo natalibus Francus,⁸ quem interna uiscerum exagitabant tormenta. Volu-

¹ This chapter is omitted in R.

² The scribe of MS. D. first wrote "Gunnildis" H. "Gunnildis."

³ H. "Haroldi."

⁴ H. om.

⁵ H. "pretendit."

⁶ H. "detectis."

⁷ This chapter is omitted in R.

⁸ Interlined by scribe in D.

tabatur¹ inmenso dolore; sicut anguis uarios se torquet in orbes. Eiulatu suo² mouebantur uiantes. Sed nullus morbum lenire preualebat. Wlstanus itaque transiens ubi uocem dolentis et paulominus ut uidebatur animam agentis accepit; equo descendit. Iam uero infirmus audito equorum fremitu qui essent transeuntes percunctatus ab his qui lingue commercia nossent; Wlstanum transire didicerat. Accepto Wlstani uocabulo quod etiam apud Francos celebre erat, continuo resumpsit spiritum; et quantis poterat conatibus benedictionem postulauit. Episcopus igitur aquam benedictam in uase corneo decumbenti porrexit acclinis ad eum corpore, sed pro eo ad deum pulsabat mente. Sumpta aqua surrexit homo incolumis, eodemque momento, et uni fuit terminus orationis; et alteri repulsa doloris. Denique statim iter ad Wintoniam cum ceteris sicut inceperat; alacriter consummauit.

Qualiter matrona per epistolam eius sanata est.

22. Uicus³ Wigornensi diocesi iacet⁴ Wick⁵ ab antiquo dictus, [II, 13.] ubi quod mirum est dicere; de communibus stagnis conficiuntur saline publice. Huius erat mulier indigena cui morbus irrepserat⁶; qui non solum unum membrum set etiam omnes articulos nodositatem quadam constringeret. Accreuit in dies auctior labes, et dampnato membrorum officio; quasi corpus emortuum iacebat. Habebat ipsa in curia episcopi filium Colemanum discipulatu traditum. Insinuaui illa filio; et filius Colemanus, sibi per uisum fuisse ostensum, quod liberaretur a morbo; si literas sancti uiri suscipere mereretur. Per Frewinum tunc diaconum postea monachum; directum est scriptum huiusmodi. Sanet te Iesus Christus Segyld,⁷ hoc enim matrone uocabulum.⁸ Que alacri fide suscepit munus antistitis, non multo post causam salutis experta. Apposita loco dolenti scedula; sedauit dolorem, mutata de loco ad locum membrana; membra reparauit, morbum depulit; uigorem refudit.

De ultione diuina cuidam sancto uiro conuicianti inflicta.

23. Exuberabat⁹ ei uariis de causis miraculorum gratia procurante domino; quatinus mundo innotesceret, quam grato fidelis famulus [II, 14.]

¹ H. "Volutabantur."

² This chapter is omitted in R.

³ H. "Wic."

⁴ H. "Sigelda."

⁵ This chapter is omitted in R.

⁶ H. "illius."

⁷ H. "adiacet."

⁸ H. "obrepserat."

⁹ H. inserts "fuit."

eum *promereretur*¹ obsequio. Quandocumque dioceses circumiret,² numquam sine missa; sine sermone populum dimitteret.³ Numquam uictui die indulsit, quoad usque quanticumque numeri pueros undecumque aduectos consignasset. Hoc a primo solis exortu ad lucem occiduam *sepius* actitabat, clericisque crismatorium ferentibus fatigatis; ipse indefessus persistebat. *Usque adeo preualluit in eo amor pii muneris exequendi.* Hunc tamen morem semel apud Glocestriam⁴ uenerabilis abbatis Serlonis precibus deuictus; omisit. *Expleto enim diei officio;* iam ad pueros egressurum, idem abbas conuenit; ut eo die refectarium fratrum presentia sua nobilitaret.⁵ *Accurrunt fratres, multiplicant preces in id ipsum. Tandem eorum*⁶ *inflexus precibus; annuit, interimque iussit ut* puerorum turba digeretur in seriem; quo haberet ipse *transitum ad singulos* expeditiorem. Interea vulgus in cimiterio multa inter se serere; *moramque antistitis causari cepit;* | Quorum unus adolescens etatis lubrico, *immo instinctu diabolico inclamauit;* quid expectatis episcopum qui cum monachis uentrem suum implet? Siquis infantem suum consignari desiderat; ad me ueniat. Simulque luto arrepto frontem proximi infantis illiniens; obscena uerba *immurmurauit, et clamauit,* frontem *illi* ligate; consignatus est. Quamuis et factum et dictum adolescentuli excepsisset risus populi; celestis tamen ultio non defuit, que donum *dei* et famuli *eius* obsequium derisum indigne tulit. Mox enim *ille* furere cepit, ita miser crinem rotare; rictus torquere, ad maceriam capud impingere. *Tandem* incerto gressu effreni cursu nunc huc nunc illuc uagatus; in puteum uel potius cenam cimiterio proximum saltu delatus est. Ubi profecto euomisset animam; nisi cognatorum diligentia funibus *extractum* portasset ad diuersorium. His ad aures episcopi delatis; doluit pro *temeritate pacientis, et sacramenti iniuria;* rogatus tamen benedictionem dare dedit, et respuit ille; sed post aliquantis diebus fati munus expleuit.

Qualiter diuinitus puniti sunt quidam sprete sancti uiri benedictione et predicatione cum precibus.

[II, 15.]

24. Ad⁷ eandem urbem iterum a reuerentissimo accitus abbate; dedicauit ecclesiam. *Eratque conflua turba magna nimis; prestolans benedictionem episcopi et sermonem. At ille torrentem eloquii sui eis larga caritate infudit, habundanter inculcans caritatem et*

¹ H. "demereretur."

² H. "circumiuit."

³ H. "dimisit."

⁴ H. "Glocestram."

⁵ H. "designaretur."

⁶ H. "illorum."

⁷ "Ad . . . amictus." R. om.

pacem. Pacem qua nichil dulcius audiri, nichil melius inueniri potest; *quam* in ipso redemptoris nostri exortu angelicum melos intonuit, *quam* dominus in ipso passionis articulo discipulis dedit; et resurgens confirmavit. Loquebatur hec episcopus subnectens exempla *que* nos compendii gratia preterimus.¹ Multi sane antea inplacabiles ad pacem ea² die reuersi sunt. Hinc cuidam Willelmo cognomento caluo oborta fiducia; querelam suam in medium tulit. Is casu hominem occiderat, nec a cognatis | occisi ullo pacto³ | fo. 34. promereri amicitiam; nullo precio⁴ ueniam impetrare, nec iram mitigare potuit. Sepe temptauerat predictus abbas reducere eos ad concordiam; set non preualuit. Fratres erant quinque qui pro nece germani omnes conspirauerant in caput occisoris; nulla ratione redemptionem sanguinis admissuri. Producti tamen et ab episcopo rogati, ut illius delicti gratiam aliquam facerent; in furore spiritus prorsus abnuerunt, adicientes malle se omnino excommunicari; quam sanguinem fratris non ulcisci. Tum sacerdos si uel sic furor eorum mitesceret, aduoluitur eorum pedibus; sicut erat pontificatus insignibus amictus. Multiplicabat preces iacens⁵ in terra; spondens anime defuncti missas, et psalteria et participium beneficiorum omnium tam Wigornensis⁶ quam Glocestrensis⁷ ecclesie. At illi nichil flexi pro tanta humilitate pontificis, omnem abiurabant concordiam. Quo circa presul qui parum blandiciis profecerat; seuiori remedio rebelles aggreditur, pretentans ewangelii⁸ ueritatem dicentis. Beati pacifici; quoniam filii dei uocabuntur. Qui ergo paci aduersantur; liquet⁹ esse filios diaboli. Cuius enim quis opera facit; eius filius dicitur. Eos itaque ab omnibus deuitari precepit. Acclamauit populus sententie episcopi; quoniam genus ydolatrie est nolle adquiescere. Secuta est e uestigio ultio diuina, uno ex fratribus insano facto; illo uidelicet¹⁰ qui acrior extiterat in contradictione,

¹ H. "pretermittimus."² H. "eadem."³ H. "precio."⁴ H. "peracto."⁵ By re-arranging the chapters, the compiler of R. has placed this story between those relating the Ailsa of Longney (c. 26 in D.) and the rich priest (c. 32 in D.). The opening of the chapter in R. is as follows: "Erat autem uiro dei Wlstanio summa diligencia discordes concordare; et in sermonibus de uirtutum materie caritate frequenter tractare. Unde quadam die post missarum solemniam et sermonem ad populum habitum sicut erat pontificatus insignibus amictus accessit ad fratres quinque qui pro nece casuali sui germani omnes conspirauerant in caput occisoris; multiplicabat preces coram eis iacens in terra. . . ." continuing as in D. above.⁶ R. "Wygorniensis."⁷ R. "Glocestrensis."⁸ R. "euangelii."⁹ H. and R. add "profecto."¹⁰ H. and R. "scilicet."

et inmanior in furore. Volutabatur ad humum miser mordicus terram apprehendens, digitis effodiens; spumas iaciens feculentas. Ex membris etiam fumigantibus fetor teterrimus exierat; infestus omnibus qui aderant et intollerabilis. Confratres eius hoc¹ intuentes stupor circumdederat, et timor, ne simul² ira descenderet diuinitus super eos. Cerneret eos ultro quod contempserant affectare, pacem offerre; misericordiam implorare. Desedit tumor mentium, insolentia euanuit; rancor omnino expirauit. Mouit hec rerum facies clementiam antistitis, statimque post missam³ patienti salutem; ceteris securitatem, omnibus reformauit pacem.⁴

[fo. 34b.]

Qualiter quidam punitus sit, eo quod adiuratus per nomen Wlstani concordiam uicini sui contempsit.

[II, 16.]

25. Hec fuit occasio ut Wlstano de pace loquenti; nemo presumeret refragari. Unde affectuosius predicationi insistebat ut fructum plurimum de talento commisso reportaret. Si autem minus commode posset sicut in extremo etatis propter dolorem tybiarum; Colemanno predicationis delegabat officium, magnipendens in eo mundiciam uite; prestanciam persone, profusam facundiam; periciam litterarum. Que cum uir ille non perfunctorie haberet; non tamen ad Wlstani poterat gratiam aspirare, ut tam grate audiretur a plebe. Erat autem⁵ in Wigornia minister Ernmerus nomine, ex illo cementariorum genere; quos lictores⁶ uocant. Hic cuidam homini de⁷ eodem uico inexorabili odio infensus si quando Colemannum de pace loquentem audisset; statim discessu suo predicationi simul et monacho ualefaciebat, persuadens sibi quod a monacho diceretur; inipune posse contempni. Sed non multo post idem opifex⁸ concontractis machinis super quas ad liniendam materiam stabat miserabilem erumpnam incurrit; ambo crura debilitatus. Et lecto decumbens; numquam tota uita sua pedes non doluit. Multisque pro exemplo fuit correctioni; ut nullus fere per nomen Wlstani rogatus pacem inficiari auderet.

De arbore nucua que maledictione sancti Wlstani exaruit.

[II, 17.]

26. Eýlsius⁹ quidam qui¹⁰ minister Edwardi¹¹ regis fuerat, ad uillam suam Longeneyam¹² supra Sabrinam positam euocauit

¹ R. om.² H. and R. "similis."³ H. "missas."⁴ R. concludes this chapter with the first sentence of c. 25 of D. ("Hec . . . refragari.")⁵ H. "itaque."⁶ H. "littores."⁷ H. "ex."⁸ H. "pontifex."⁹ H. "Elisius." R. "Ailsius."¹⁰ H. and R. om.¹¹ H. "Eadwardi."¹² H. and R. "Langene."

antistitem ad consecrandam ecclesiam.¹ Venit ille ut numquam in talibus moram nectens, sed locus |capacitati populi defuit; |fo. 35. qui *cateruatim* ad eum solito more confluxerat. Erat in cimiterio arbor nucea patulis frondibus umbrosa, que *luxuriante* ramorum amplitudine *officiebat luminibus* ecclesie. Adscito ergo domino iussit eam episcopus abscidi. Solebat *autem* uir ille sub eadem arbore presertim estiuus diebus aleis uel epulis uacare, unde non solum non humiliter paruit; set pertinaciter contradixit. Malletque² ecclesiam non dedicari; quam arborem abscidi. Tum uero sanctus uir non *parum* proteruia uiri motus, maledictionis iaculum in arborem intorsit. Quo illa uulnerata; paulatim steriliscens, et caruit fructu, et radicitus exaruit. *Que*³ infecunditate ita possessorem exacerbauit; ut cuius *umbram dilexerat, et fructum, eam ariditatis* pertesus; iuberet abscidi. Hoc idem paterfamilias Colemanno reuerso postea retulit, et in signum miraculi locum ostendit. Fixum semper apud se habuit et dixit, nichil Wlstani maledictione amarius; nichil benedictione dulcius inueniri.

Qua de causa cubicularius eius infirmitate percussus data benedictione, sanus effectus est.

27. Multociens⁴ *eciam* qui tranquillum animum uiri turbauerint, [II, 18]. celestem ultionem experti sunt; *ut subiecto exemplo liquebit.* Venerat statim post pascha in uillam cui Blocheleya⁵ nomen. Aderatque dies octauarum, missam dicturus; informes cereos, mantilia squalentia; omnia ornamenta altaris infra sollempnitatis decorem esse offendit.⁶ Quapropter astanti clericello innuit, ut ueloci cursu *hec corrigere* cubiculario *nunciaret.* At ille sepe clemencia mansueti pontificis abusus; commoto felle per grandem colaphum puero impegit. Cesus ille ad *episcopum* rediit, *flens et eiulans.* Tanta seruiantis arrogancia *excanduit* antistitis ira; uerumptamen intra *septa* pectoris eam cohibens, pro tempore silentio *dissimulauit.* Sed |mirabilem in modum in eadem hora qua ira mentem pontificis in ecclesia *percussit,*⁷ morbus ministri corpus in cubiculo turbauit. Quo *uexatus* ad terram decidit, flatu pene intercepto similis morituro iacebat. Ita color a facie; calor a corpore, sermo ex ore fugerat. Accursum undique causa subiti casus sollicitate quesita; diligenter inuenta est. *Refertur ad episcopum patientis*⁸ *miseria, et iniuria* |fo. 35b.

¹ R. "basilicam."

³ "Que . . . inueniri." R. om.

⁵ H. "Bloccheleia."

⁷ H. "concussit."

² R. "maletque."

⁴ This chapter is omitted in R.

⁶ H. "ostendit."

⁸ H. "dolentis."

presumentis; et imploratur uenia delicti, quod ita celitus ultum est. Antistes ignouit, benedictionem dedit; et e uestigio sanitas restituta est infirmanti.

Qualiter per merita eius uentus in mari sedatus est.

[II, 19.]

28. Ueniam ad illud miraculum quod primo non creditum sed post probabiliū uirorum testimonio est subnixum. Id fuit huiusmodi. Vicus est maritimus in Wigornensi¹ diocesi Brystowia² dictus; cuius indigene cum ceteris ex Anglia in Hyberniam³ nauigabant. Iamque in altum processerant, et mutata celi, clementia; flauit spiritus procelle, inhorruit fragor uentorum; factaque est tempestas ualida. Procedebat nauigium casu non arte, diruptis rudentibus; malo effracto, remis excussis; pallescebant⁴ omnes arescentes pre dolore et expectatione superuenture mortis; tribusque diebus cum noctibus sine sompno; expertes cibi⁵ uitam traxerunt. Quarto die fatigati ex labore et angustia spiritus cum nichil spei superesset euadendi; unus eorum clamauit dicens. Vos qui estis de episcopatu reuerentissimi Wlstani quare patris uestri non imploratis auxilium; ut nos ab hoc diutine mortis articulo intercessionis sue suffragio liberare dignetur? Rapuerunt ex ore uerbum ceteri; una uoce, unanimi uoto; in orationem⁶ effusi. Nec multo post apparuit illis quidam in effigie beati uiri, uadens per nauem, armamenta consolidans; rudentes coaptans, modo singulos, modo exhortans uniuersos; ut reuocarent animos,⁷ erigerent antempnas; quia daturus erat deus tranquillitatem, et cito applicarent. Promissionem secutus est effectus. Statim enim Hybernie⁸ portui allapsi, nec multo post felicibus auris Angliam reuecti; disseminauerunt ubique miraculum. Quidam⁹ autem increduli factum istud nolebant admittere in Wlstano, tanquam eo aliquid derogaretur beato Nicholao; qui in consimili miraculo celebris habetur. Sed non inuidebit quicquam alter alteri in terris; quorum merita sunt in celis, in pace quietissima; et gloria sempiterna.

[fo. 36.]

Qualiter quamplures Anglie ab errore suo reuocauit qui homines utriusque sexus exteris uendere solebant.

[II, 20.]

29. Hoc¹⁰ sane miraculum apud iamdictos uicanos in tantum preualuit, ut nichil eis magis animo constaret; quam quod ille

¹ R. "Wigorniensi."

² H. "Bristowia." R. "Bristouia."

³ H. and R. "Hiberniam."

⁴ H. and R. "pallebant."

⁵ R. "sibi."

⁶ H. and R. "oratione."

⁷ R. adds "timorem deponerent."

⁸ H. "Hybernie."

⁹ "Quidam . . . sempiterna." R. om.

¹⁰ R. omits this chapter.

*agendum iuberet. Unde et ab eis morem uetustissimum sustulit, qui sic animis eorum occaluerat; quod nec dei amor, nec Willelmi regis timor; hactenus eum abolere potuerunt.*¹ Homines enim ex *tota Anglia coemptos maioris spe questus in Hiberniam distrahebant, ancillasque prius ludibrio corporis habitas; iam pregnantes uenales proponebant. Videres et gemeres concathenatos funibus miserorum ordines, et utriusque sexus adolescentes; qui liberali forma, etate integra, barbaris etiam erant miserationi; cotidie prostitui, cotidie uenditari. Hunc tamen*² *inueteratum morem et a proauis in nepotes transfusum; Wlstanus ut dixi paulatim deleuit. Sciens enim ceruicositatem eorum non facile flecti; sepe circa eos duobus mensibus, sepe tribus mansitabat; omni dominica eo ueniens, et diuine predicationis semina spargens. Que adeo per interualla temporum coaluerunt in fructum; ut non solum renunciant uicio; sed ad idem faciendum ceteris per Angliam essent*³ *exemplo. Denique unum ex suo numero qui pertinacius obuia-* [fo. 36b.] *bat preceptis episcopi; uico electum, mox luminibus orbauerunt, et cuius delicti auctores extiterant; facti sunt persecutores acerrimi.*

Qualiter per uirtutem sancti pisces a piscatoribus furati restituti sunt.

30. *Rogatu*⁴ *Willelmi regis et Thome archiepiscopi Eborachum*⁵ [II, 21.] *ante Pascha ut crisma benediceret proficiscens; Snotingham uenit. Is uicus est famosus, quem Trenta non ignobilis fluiui ibidem transmeabilis alluit, premittit ministros qui pararent hospicium; capax suorum et congruum. Et tum forte uicecomes aberat. At uero uxor eius bone actionis femina, nuntios dignanter excepit; eo magis quod Wlstanus aduentum nuntiarent. Nam sanctitatis eius fama etiam aures illius perflauerat. Unde pre gaudio referentibus nuntiis episcopum uenturum; nec fidem prorsus abnuuit, nec penitus accommodauit.*⁶ *Tandem nuntios uerbis adorsa sedulo explorat, adiurans per nomen dei ut certificarent; si religio episcopi sui fame responderet. Percunctanti respondit simpliciter Frewinus,*⁷ *episcopum dei seruum esse; bonumque in se et in aliis diligere. Altius mulier intendit questionem, dicens euidenter appariturum, quod dei famulus esset; si eius edulio profuturus, piscis reti accurreret. Iam enim plus tribus mensibus omnis in his locis piscium captura desiuerat. Suos ergo piscatum mittit. Continuo illi quorum omnis ars ut dixi iam pridem delusa; quinque*

¹ H. "potuisset."

² H. "tantum."

³ H. "fuissent."

⁴ R. omits this chapter.

⁵ H. "Eboracensis."

⁶ H. "commendauit."

⁷ H. "Frewinus."

ysitios¹ *grandes et tragidos*² retibus insuerunt. Veruntamen comodis suis *studentes*, tres *maiusculos* furati sunt; duos *domine* attulere. Illa *exhylarata uehementer*, eos domino exhibuit; et palam rem totam omnibus exposuit, *nec esse ambigendum*; quin *meritis episcopi hec accidissent*. Orabat ergo³ *illa quatinus* beneficiorum | eius compos et orationum⁴ *particeps fieri posset*. Hoc primo die hoc secundo. *Sed uirtute uiri coacti piscatores reddere quod usurpauerant*, reliqui pisces auxere miraculum; *detecta fraude piscatorum*.

Qualiter de quodam oratorio prophetauit.

31. Inter⁵ hec pulchrum est *annectere* quam in promptu spiritum prophetie habuerit. Occasionem uisitandi Cestrensem episcopatum nactus, crebro per Sorepesburiam⁶ transiens; in oratorio sancti Petri tunc illius urbis minimo, frequentes orationum protelabat excubias. Mirantibus urbicis et *causantibus* cur post habita ecclesia beate Marie illud oratorium *frequentasset*; ait ille. Credite mihi, *quod oratorium istud* quod modo uilipenditis; erit in posterum locus gloriosissimus tocius Sorepesburie,⁷ et gaudium prouincie; *illudque* et diligetis uiui, et ibi iacebitis mortui. Hec ille tunc dixit. Sed rem non infra promissum esse impletam *factum probat*,⁸ quod celebratius est *uidere*; quam sit necesse *scribere*.

De quodam presbitero qui cuidam uicino suo pacem facere renuit.

32. Alio quoque tempore Sewinus⁹ quidam *affluens copia* diuiciarum in sua uilla Redcliua¹⁰ fecerat ecclesiam. Eam a sancto dedicari *summopere desiderans*; ab archiepiscopo cuius erat diocesis licentiam petiit et impetrauit. Sato itaque rumore in uulgus quod dedicationis munus executurus esset Wlstanus; *accurritur undique, sit*¹¹ *frequencia uirorum ac mulierum magnanimis*. Multus eo die fuit sermo ad populum. Et cum ut semper¹² pro more de pace actitaret episcopus; *nactus oportunitatem quidam* tenuis substantie homo processit *in medium*. Is multis precibus supplicauit antistiti, ut inter se et quendam qui *propter*¹³ *astabat* prediuitis fortune presbiterum; pacem reformaret.¹⁴ Et uocatus¹⁵ ille bis, terque de

¹ H. " isitios."

² H. om.

³ R. omits this chapter.

⁴ H. " Salopesburie."

⁵ H. " Sewius."

¹⁰ H. " Recliua."

¹² " Alio . . . populum." R. om. Chapter in R. opens thus: " Quadam etiam die cum sermonem ad populum haberet, et ut semper . . ."

¹³ R. " prope."

¹⁴ R. " reformauit."

² H. " turgidos."

⁴ H. inserts " eius."

⁶ H. " Salopesburiam."

⁸ H. " probabat."

¹¹ H. " quid."

¹⁵ H. and R. " euocatus."

[II, 22.]

[II, 3.]

[II, 22.]

pace precibus pulsatus episcopi; arroganter¹ *contradixit*. At ille non uis inquit pacem? Amen dico tibi, *quia* uenit hora et in proximo est; quod uoles et ei et aliis misereri, et non poteris. Petes misericordiam; et negabitur tibi. Nichil ille motus; iter uel pocius fugam | ad domum *maturabat*. Ibi *preuentus inimicorum suorum* | fo. 37b. *insidiis; inuaditur, conculcatur; ad ultimum interficitur, nec redimere uitam potuit prece uel precio; ut sermo uiri dei impleretur, misericordiam petes et negabitur tibi*. Interfectus itaque² ueri uaticinii in se periculum fecit. Factus aliis in exemplum, ut misericordiam et pacem quam sibi exhiberi uolunt; proximis denegare non presumant. **Explicit liber primus.**

Incipit secundus.

Qualiter respondit cuidam episcopo de indumentis suis et a quo tempore et qua de causa a carnibus abstinuit.

i. Hactenus³ dixisse iuuat miracula pauca sane, sed que sufficiant ad documenta sanctitatis Wlstani. Nunc *exteriorem eius hominem* [III, 1.] *et mores dicere aggrediar, ut qui eum in gloria miraculorum imitari non potest; saltem imitetur episcopum in spiritu humili in habitu mediocri; in conuersatione honesta et utili*. Itaque omnis *honestationis*⁴ refugus in cunctis *indumentis suis* agninis tantum⁵ amittebatur pellibus. Unde quadam uice a Gaufrido⁶ Constantiensi episcopo benigne reprehensus, cur agninas pelles haberet; qui sabelinas, uel castorinas, uel uulpinas habere posset, et deberet; eleganter respondit. Eum et homines prudencie secularis gnaros uersutorum animalium pellibus uti debere; se nullius tergiuersationis conscium, pelliculis agninis contentum esse. Cumque ille instaret *diceretque* ut uel cattos indueret; respondit Wlstanus. Crede mihi, sepius cantatur agnus dei; quam cattus dei. Hec uerba Gaufridus⁷ *risu accepit*,⁸ *ducens non insistendum amplius questionibus; ubi ipse illudi posset, et alter non flecti*. *Set et lectisternia eius, calciamenta, et cetera eius indumenta; nec arrogantis precii erant, nec uilitatis abiecte*. Numquam post religionis habitum nec⁹ ante aliquot annis; unctioribus cibis corpus curauit, nec [III, 2.] sagimine¹⁰ *usus nec carnibus*. Quem morem qua occasione sibi

¹ R. "set arroganter."

² H. and R. "uero."

³ R. omits this chapter.

⁴ Sic MS. Appar. error for "ostentationis" H. "obstentationis."

⁵ H. om.

⁶ H. "Galfrido."

⁷ H. "Galfridus."

⁸ H. "exceptit."

⁹ H. inserts "uero."

¹⁰ H. "sanguine."

| fo. 38.

indixerit non ab re erit, si *premissorum*¹ *recordatione* | *manifestetur*. Bricthegus² episcopus ut *prediximus* eum a primis ordinibus in presbiteratum promouerat; promotoque ecclesiam uille que *uocatur*. Haueskesburi³ *assignauerat*. Erat tum ille prime lanuginis ephebus, et qui *nondum lauciora cibaria abiurauerat*. Iussit quadam die aucam coqui. Ales *ergo*⁴ ueru *affixus*,⁵ torrebatur sedulo, pars ministrorum prunas suggerere; pars condimentum molere *satagebat*. Distillabat ignea ui expressus aruine liquor, fuerat enim de altilibus aucis lectissima; et *nidore delectabantur astantes*. His captus presbiter, ipse quoque in *delectatione* animum resolverat; spe aucam prelibans. *Instante ergo hora prandii, cum accelerarent ad mensam; emersit causa inportuna nimis* sed necessaria, et *quam declinare non poterat; qua alio ire compulsus est*. Ita inanis discessit, nec *gustauit carnem; quam odore prelibauerat*. In se *ergo reuersus*, momentanee⁶ uoluptatis culpam arguebat; carnem miseram sic delectatione effluere, sic ad mala instigari. A⁷ se itaque *penam exegit; uoluptatem unius hore totis abstinento compensauit temporibus*. Vouit, et uoti se *compotem fecit; numquam ulterius se id genus cibi commesurum*. Inferebantur autem ante eum *pisces et condimenta*,⁸ lac et lactea; quorum⁹ non nulla esu degustans, sola olera libentius insumebat. Legebantur ad mensam eius libri *edificationi accomodi; cunctis interim summum pre mentibus silentium*. Iam uero *quiete data epulis; exponebat lectionem patria lingua, ut celestem impertiret alimoniam; quibus corporalem ministrauerat*. Post prandium cum aliis *ceruisia uel ydromellum pro patrio more porrigeretur in potum; ipse aquam puram bibebat, solo ministro conscio ceteris preciosum liquorem esse estimantibus*. Et *primis quidem annis meram aquam hauriebat*. *Procedente uero senio*¹⁰; *uino uel ceruisia mixtam*.

| *De disciplina domus sue.*

[III, 3.]

| fo. 38b.

2. *Disciplinam*¹¹ domus sue tam in laicis quam in ordinatis seuerissime exercebat, *legem enim tulerat; ut omnes curiales sui tam misse, quam omnibus horis non deessent*.¹² Custodes ad hoc constituit, ut

¹ H. "piissimorum."² H. "Brictegus."³ H. "Hauechesburi."⁴ H. "uero."⁵ H. "affictus."⁶ H. "commentanee."⁷ The latter part of this chapter is based on the contents of the missing folio in MS. Cott. A.v.⁸ H. inserts "et." ⁹ H. inserts "ipse."¹⁰ H. "seruo."¹¹ R. omits the whole of this chapter.¹² H. "adessent" for "non deessent."

nullum impune ridere sinerent. Alioquin aut potu eo die carebat, aut palma ictum ferule excipiebat. Neminem laicum de suis quoquam mitteret, cui non preces septies in die dicendas iniungeret. Hoc congrue asseuerans, ut sicut clerici septem horas; ita laici septem orationes deo libarent. Si quis ante eum iuraret; statim ferule uindicta sequebatur. Hoc etiam in sermone ad populum sepe inculcabat, nequis iuramento assuesceret; ne hac occasione in periculum peierandi duceretur. Sed et indigne ferebat si quis coram eo aliorum uitam roderet uel carperet mores; quoniam hoc summe malicie deputabat. Noctibus autem cum pauxillum sompni recepisset¹; confestim surgebat. Sepe psalterium, sepe orationum librum in quo non minus quam in psalterio erat²; quemque semper sinu gestabat, et horas de sancta Maria dicebat. Solus non nunquam omnia; ne quietem aliorum impediret. Quandoque cum socio; quem ceteris uigilantiorem deprehendisset.³ Quorum unus Edricus nomine, quadam nocte cantanti consedit. Et cum episcopus nichil de consuetis pretermittere uellet; pertesus morarum monachus manu etiam ei ut desineret presumpsit significare. Illo uero sompno-lentiam eius nutu arguente; resedit inuitus, perstitit oscitabundus. Mox cum se cubitum collocasset; magna ui per uisum concussus, quin etiam flagris cesus; inconsulte temeritatis penas dedit. Postremo data fide quod nunquam ulterius bonum hominem a bono deterreret uel impediret opere; tam horrifice uisionis periculo solutus est.

De calceo suo amisso, et quod matutinas semper in ecclesia persoluerit.

3. Matutinas⁴ semper in ecclesia cantabat, quantocumque | [III, 4.]
spacio dispareretur ab hospicio. Si ningeret, plueret; uel | fo. 39-
quecumque aeris incommoditas esset. Si luto uia sorderet; nichil
minus. Si crassitudo tenebrarum celum obduceret; nichil segnius.
Hac consuetudine cum quadam uice ante natale domini ad
curiam proficiscens apud uillam Merlase accepisset hospicium;
dixit suis mane se ad ecclesiam iturum. Ea longe aberat, simul
et lutosa uia; que etiam in die ambulantiem deterrere posset.
Preterea ninguidus ymber uel nix pluuiialis utroque enim modo

¹ H. "pausilum sompnum decerpssisset."

² H. "non minus psalterium continebatur."

³ The first part of this chapter as preserved in D. and H. is based on the contents of the lost folio in the Cotton MS.

⁴ This chapter is omitted in R.

seuiebat aer; impedimento *erant*. Hec clericis obtendentibus, ille perstitit in sententia; uelle se ad ecclesiam ire, uno saltem uel etiam nullo comite; tantum monstraretur ei uia ne incerto tramite aberraret. Clerici hoc¹ *nichilominus gre ferentes, ex se tamen unum delegerunt; qui episcopum duceret. At ille Frewinus nomine, ceteris mente prurior, manu domini apprehensa; duxit, sed qua palus undosior; qua uia esset profundior. Ibatur in uiscera terre; et antistes luto ad genua immersus, uno etiam calceo priuatus; uenit ad ecclesiam, et corpore rigescente pre frigore; nichilominus incommoditatem uie, et equanimiter tulit ducentis iniuriam.* Eo enim clericalis *procedebat intentio*; ut et tunc episcopum cepti² pigeret, et postmodum consiliis suorum *adquiesceret*. Iam uero *procedente die*; artubus premortuis a gelu, ad diuersorium regressus; suum incommodum et clerici tum³ demum delictum aperuit, precepit etiam ut quereretur calceus; nullo conuitio in contumacem inuectus,⁴ sed atrocitatem facti hylaritate uultus attenuauit. Erat enim dominus pontifex magne tollerantie, qua ita mentem armauerat; ut nulla eum turbaret illusio, nullum incommodum conculceret in peccatum.

Qualiter orare solebat et confessiones admittere.

[III, 5.]
| fo. 39b.

4. Missas⁵ duas ad minus cotidie audire, et ipse terciam cantare | solebat. Si quo equitandum esset; ascenso animali continuo psalterium incipere, nec pausam nisi ad finem facere. Adiungebantur letanie cum collectis plurimis, et uigilie pro defunctis.⁶ Adequitabant ei clerici et monachi seriem uersuum excepturi;⁷ ut dedicerent inanes fabulas, que potissimum se uiantibus⁸ ingerunt. Cubicularius eius presto habebat *elemosinam, que nulli egenti negabatur*. Cum uentum esset ad hospiciu; domos tocius diuersorii iubebat lustrari a presbitero cum aqua benedicta; et crucis uexillo. Iaceret, staret, ambularet; semper in ore psalmus, semper in corde⁹ Christus. Si quando quieti membra composuisset, cedebat quidam nature ut dormiret; sed uel per se uel alio pulsante expectectus psalmum inchoabat. Conserua me domine, uel *alium qui orationem sonaret*. Homines ad confessionem uenientes iocunde suscipiebat, benigne refouebat; lacrimabiliter

[III, 6.]

[III, 7.]

¹ H. om.

⁴ H. "conuectus."

⁶ H. "de profundis."

⁸ H. "deuiantibus."

² H. "incepti."

³ H. "tunc."

⁵ This chapter is omitted in R.

⁷ H. "recepturi."

⁹ H. "in ore."

condescendens *eorum*¹ delictis, non resiliens sicut inauditis. Nec illud minori nescio an maiori predicatione dignius; quod eos semper familiares in posterum haberet, quorum peccata et penitentias nosset. *Pauperum* curam maxima *agens* diligentia, ante [III, 8.] se illos sedilibus gregatim disponebat; affluenter queque necessaria *ministrans*. Filios diuitum curie sue mancipatos officio; cogeabat genibus flexis pauperibus mensam, et cibos et aquam manibus infundere. Si quis eorum conscientiam *altitudo*² sanguinis spirans uultu superbiam proderet; *continuo* arguebat, *dicens* alia esse, in quibus mallet offendi; quam pauperem *Christi* uel nutu contristari. *Hec ideo* pius doctor *agebat*; ut *sic assuescerent* egenis reuerentiam exhibere.

Qualiter secretius orabat.

5. In³ singulis uillis suis singulas habebat ediculas, in quibus se [III, 9.] a mane post missam includebat. Ibi *sollicitudinem*⁴ nactus; *libros*⁵ in contemptum mundi, et in *contemplationem* dei | librabat mentis | fo. 40. obtutus. Nec erat qui meditantem interpellaret; nisi cum clericus pulsatione hostii tempus prandii uel horarum nuntiasset. Eratque hoc claustrum inter cameram et priuatam domum, domesticis tantum consciis; ne uideretur esse ostentator religionis. Hac se cohibebat inter homines *solitudine* et *precipue* tempore⁶ quadragesima; ut *propensiori studio totus uacaret deo*. Erat etiam non solum⁷ orator multiplex; sed etiam diligens. Cum enim ad uersum psalmi ueniret quo affectus in deum suscitari posset, utpote inclina domine aurem tuam et exaudi me quoniam inobis et pauper sum ego⁸; hunc inquam et alios *huiusmodi* bis terque repetens, erectis in celum oculis ingeminabat. Si quem *suorum* matutine sinaxi deesse *perspiceret*; ceteris post officium sompno *deditis* neglectorem suscitabat, debitum implere cogeabat; ipse uice ministri cantanti respondens. Quandocumque et ubicumque alicuius audisset⁹ [III, 11.] obitum; statim pater noster presentibus indicto tres psalmos. Laudate dominum omnes gentes. De profundis; Laudate dominum in sanctis *eius* cum precibus dicebat. Missam pro mortuis *omnibus diebus* cantari faciebat; preter dominicas et festa maiora sollempnia. Si quempiam castitati deditum comperisset; *hunc familiarem habebat*, [III, 12.] et *tanquam* filium diligebat. Uxoratos presbiteros omnes uno

¹ H. "illorum."

² This chapter is omitted in K.

³ H. "liberos." ⁴ H. "in tempore."

⁵ H. "q.i.o.b.s.et.p.s.e."

⁶ H. "alti."

⁷ H. "solitudinem."

⁸ H. "solus."

⁹ H. "audiret."

conuenit edicto, *ut*¹ *inmundiciis, aut ecclesiis renunciarent.* Fueruntque non nulli qui ecclesiis quam mulierculis carere mallent. Quorum aliquos uagabundos fames absumpsit, aliquos res familiaris aliunde quesita *sustinuit.* Pauci uero quos sanior *sensus* regebat, abdicatis illicitis preclaro in ecclesiis *suo senio* consenuerunt.

Quod missam maiorem sepiissime celebrare solebat.

[III. 13.]
[fo. 40b.]

6. Humilitatis² eius³ ubique maxime inter monachos; multa fuere indicia. Quando | erat Wigornie; missam maiorem cotidie fere dicebat. Fertur enim *dixisse* se monachum loci esse, *et* septimanam ut ceteros ecclesie debere. Ideoque quod suo explere nequiret ordine; suppleret pro aduentus *sui* tempore. Collationi *fratrum* sepe interesse, deinde in ecclesia confessione *dicta* et benedictione data; redire ad sua. Summo diluculo ceteris quiescentibus *ad* ecclesiam se matutinus agebat. Ubi si aliquis fratrum ut fit plerumque missam dicere uolens non haberet adiutoris solatium; ipse incunctanter ministri, subibat officium. Ipse *etiam* in pueris et ceteris quos perperam uestitos uidisset; dignanter acclinis pendulos componebat sinus, rugasque dissidentes in seriem redigebat.

Qualiter ydromellum data benedictione habundauit.

[III. 14.]

[III. 15.]

7. Erant⁴ tunc temporis altaria lignea, a priscis diebus in Anglia. Ea ille per diocesim suam demolitus; ex lapidibus alia *fecit, eaque dedicauit.* In ipso dedicandorum altarium itinere uenit ad locum cui uicinabatur ecclesia; ab Eýlrico⁵ archidiacono nouiter facta. Hanc ad dedicandam paratam sciens episcopus; imminente crepusculo archidiacono *precepit* ut iret, et consecrande ecclesie competencia pararet.⁶ Eo se uenturum diluculo et *dedicaturum.* Ille uero⁷ tam repentino precepto motus, *pretendit causas; cum in apparatu qui defuit, tum cibariorum inopiam; que episcopo et suis et aliis aduentantibus minime erant suffectura.* Vade ait episcopus; quia *cum* in proximo sumus, opus dei faciemus; *et cetera adicientur nobis.* Profectus continuo archidiaconus, pro articulo temporis necessaria consecrationi maturauit⁸; cibaria quoque *que sufficerent.* Sola autem erat ydromelli penuria, *qui potus in Anglia non infra uinum erat. Modicum tamen* in uno uase illoque non grandi ab amicis emendicauerat. Uenit ergo episcopus, factoque propter quod uenerat; alias | iter intendebat. Archi-

[fo. 41.]

¹ H. "ut aut."

² This chapter is omitted in R.

³ H. "illius."

⁴ This chapter is omitted in R.

⁵ H. "Eilrico."

⁶ H. "prepararet."

⁷ H. "quidem."

⁸ H. "maturabat."

diaconus nisus amicorum precibus eum retinere laborabat, et uix obtinuit. Post prandium uero iussit archidiaconus ut de predicto uase omnibus propinaretur. Data igitur benedictione ab episcopo, largissime ceteris propinatum est. Partitus liquor modicus per multitudinem, ubi deficere putabatur creuit; et quasi de fonte scaturiens habundauit inexhaustus. Crederes affore farine ydriam uel lechitum olei, quibus Helyas Sareptenam uiduam pascebat; qui pasci uenerat. Ignoro an excellentiore gratia; quia ibi trium hominum sustentata est natura, hic multorum sacietas expleta. Et hoc quidem magnum; set maius est quod sequitur, quia post triduum inuentum est uas semiplenum; quod tante multitudini sufficere uideretur nec totum. Archidiaconus uero ratus non occultandam lucernam sub modio, tam manifestum miraculum et a multis expertum; omnibus predicauit, ad amplificanda magnalia dei; qui tam gloriosus est in sanctis suis.

Qualiter quidam temerato precepto sancti episcopi demone urgebatur.

8. Et¹ quoniam de potu se intulit sermo; dicam quid cuidam [III, 16.] accidit qui contra uetitum potauit. Habebat ipse in curia milites multos, non quod uoluptati esset frequens seruientum² multitudo; sed rex Willelmus ita fieri preceperat, quod sereretur rumor in uulgus; Danos aduentare in Angliam. Huic coacto concilio, omnium sententia Lanfranco auctore decretum est; curias magnatum militibus muniendas, ut cum res³ exigeret; communi concursu rempublicam priuatasque fortunas contra barbaros tuerentur. Quadam itaque die cum milites in mensa episcopi conuiuarentur, et crebrioribus poculis esset adducta hylaritas; ceperunt primo obstrepere uerbis, a uerbis processum est in iurgia; et pene in arma. Quibus sanctus offensus pauloque commotior; omnemque discursum pincernarum cessare, et ne quisquam in domo illa ea die potaret precepit. Ceteris omnibus obtemperantibus, | solus Nicholaus quod | fo. 47b. eum antistes maiori dignaretur gratia, penum ingressus; temerauit preceptum. Inde dormitum pergens, clamorem et stridores diros dormiens emittebat. Exiit strato Colemannus qui prope cubabat, expergefatum tantorum motuum causam interrogat. Ille demone se urgeri respondit, et pro transgressione precepti nullam sibi dari requiem. Persuasus autem a socio ut psalmis et cruce fantasiam discuteret, denuo in soporem resoluitur; denuo etiam et tercio horrores eosdem expertus, intellexit solum esse

¹ This chapter is omitted in R.

² H. reads "seruientium."

³ H. "rex."

remedium ab illo *implorare* ueniam ; cuius iussum *in potu* uiolauerat. *Episcopus* tum more solito in ecclesia ¹ solitariis orationibus deo lucubrabat. *Profusus* ergo *pedibus* pii patris, peccatum confessus, benedictionem gratanter obtinuit ; *et salutem et pacem postea dormiens sensit.*

Qualiter omni die quadragesime Mandatum fecit.

[III, 18.] 9. Omni ² die Quadragesimæ ³ pauperibus post ablutionem pedum et manuum *cibos quoque* impendebat. Idque libentius noctibus quam diebus uitans uidelicet iudicia hominum, que in utramvis partem amore labuntur aut odio. Ubi si inter *aliquos* assedisset aliquis quem morbus regius occupasset ; illius pedes *amplecti* tenacius, osculari dulcius ; oculos porro in ipsis *defigere* ulceribus. Iam uero in cena domini totam diem ac noctem *in obsequiis pauperum transigebat.* Et licet semper esset in dei cultum suspensus, illo tamen die maxime curabat ne quid seculare suis *actionibus* irreperet. Post matutinas cum monachis in maiori ecclesia cantatas in cubiculum regressus, aquam calidam cum manutergiis inueniebat ab officialibus paratam ; *ibique* ⁴ multis pauperibus *ablutis, datisque* etiam *uestibus* manu sua caritatem *eis* ministrabat. Tum quieti *parumper indulgebat,* et ministri *eius interim* totam aulam *replebant* pauperibus ; *quibus* omnibus calceos et uictum manu *propria* prebebat. Inde | secedebat in ecclesiam, totaque die usque ad nonam mundanorum refugus celum hanelabat. Sequebatur *penitentum* reconciliatio, misse celebritas ; benedictio crismatis. Eo die ⁵ cum reconciliatis comedere, post cenam monachis omnibus pedes abluere ; pocula cum osculis ministrare solitum accepimus. Sic a media nocte usque ad profundum alterius noctis crepusculum ; se mundo subtrahere consuevit.

[fo. 42.]

Qualiter per fidem episcopi deus necessitatibus egenorum subueniebat.

[III, 19.] 10. Anno ⁶ ante obitum suum proximo ⁷ in cena domini officium istud efficacia curauit, ut superiorum annorum diligentia nichil *fecisse* ⁸ putaretur. *Loquebatur in eo spiritus sanctus,* illud *eum* *facturum* ultimo ; cunctosque ministros sollicitudinis *sue* percellerat miraculo. Indixerat singulis prepositis ut ex singulis

¹ H. " ecclesiis."

² H. " quadragesima."

³ H. " cotidie."

⁴ H. inserts " tanta."

⁵ This chapter is omitted in R.

⁶ H. " ibi."

⁷ R. omits this chapter.

⁸ H. " fuisse."

uillis unius hominis uestimenta omnia *inuenirent*, et decem hominum calceos; centum hominum uictum. Cubiculariis quoque precipit, ut quod *his deesset*; supplerent illi. Ter ea die impleta est aula egenis, sic *coactis in ordinem*; ut uix quisquam progredi posset. *Lauabat ipse, lauabant* monachi pedes considentium et clerici. *Tandem fatigatus episcopus* sedebat in medio. Labor enim inmensus uires exhauserat *cunctis*; *prospiciens* ne ullus abiret inanis. Et quidem semel et secundo discesserunt, omnes *pasti uestiti calciati*¹; *nummos etiam aliquos secum portantes*. Iam uero cum tertio locaretur pauperum ordo, suggestit in aurem monachus episcopo *uictum* pecuniam et uestes defecisse; dapiferum² cubicularium conuentos expensas negare. *Nec lauare pedes attineret*; quando quod lotis daretur non esset. Immo inquit episcopus fiat preceptum domini, non deerit largitas eius; *quin* alicunde³ pascantur *sui*. Vix hec locutus fuerat, et ecce tres ingressi sunt nuntii; primus pecuniam allatam, secundus; equum adductum; tercius boues donatos episcopo nuntiauit. | Ille leuatis in celum oculis *ac*⁴ *manibus gratias* | *fo. 42b.*
egit deo, qui per manus suas necessitatibus egenorum dignatus est subuenire. Equus et boues in precium redacti cum allata pecunia; compendiis *pauperum profuere*.

Qualiter die Pasche cum pauperibus cibum sumpsit.

II. Premonuerat⁵ ministros suos se ad illud pascha conuiuari [III, 20.] uelle cum bonis hominibus. Id illi falso interpretati; *milites et opulentos* conuocauerunt. Iamque dies Pasche illuxerat, cum ille in aulam pauperibus quantos capere poterat introductis; precepit inter eos sedili locato *mensam* sibi⁶ *et cibos* apponi. Excepit illud dapifer ingenti indignatione animi. Multo enim infrendens murmure; lacerabat lenitatem uiri, dicens competentius esse ut episcopus conuiuaretur cum paucis diuitibus; quam cum multis pauperibus. Ad *hec* ille respondit, illos diuites esse qui nossent et possent uoluntatem dei facere; illisque seruire debere, *in quibus deus suscipitur et honoratur*. *Contempnens itaque pompam et gloriam mundi, sedebat antistes in medio pauperum; eo conuiuans iocundius, quo humiliori loco pedes Iesu refouebat*. *Humilis humilia delegebat, caute quidem; quia nulla fuit pene mundi gloria, que nolentem renitentemque non sequeretur*. Eratque certamen inter uirum et

¹ MS. altered from "calceati." H. "calceati."

² H. "dapifer puerum."

⁴ H. "et."

⁵ R. omits this chapter.

³ H. "aliunde."

⁶ H. om.

gloriam, dum eam quo acrius ille fugeret; eo instantius illa eum urgeret. Penetrauerat extrema *terrarum* fama sanctitatis eius, dum rex Scotie Malcolmus, et rex Hybernie¹ suis² orationibus sese commendarent; *manciparent obsequiis, sic admirabilis innotuit Wlstanus etiam noster populo barbaro.* Papa Romanus, Barensis archiepiscopus; Ierosolimitanus patriarcha, epistolis que adhuc supersunt eius *postulare* apud deum suffragia.

Qualiter sanctus Wlstanus migravit ad dominum.

[III, 21.] 12. Proximo³ postea *instante* Pentecosten; graui per omnes artus tactus | molestia; lecto accubuit. Ab eo tempore usque in Circumcisionem domini *lenta* febre sed assidua agebatur in exitum; *habens interdum falsam quietem quam rediuius dolor postea acrius innouabat. Prolixitas egritudinis exhausto corpore* augebat uires anime, ut si quid in eo *esset* immaturum eterne glorie; feruor infirmitatis decoqueret *et uirtus in infirmitate perficeretur.*⁴ Interea non feriabatur ille a dei seruitio; sed ueterum non oblitus studiorum orabat plerumque uerbo, semper animo; magis sedens quam iacens, aures psalmis; oculis altari applicabat, sedili sic composito; ut libere cerneret quicquid fieret in capella. Ante octo dies discessus sui; inunctionis sacre sacramentum suscepit. *Sicque* quartadecima kalendas Februarii paulo post mediam noctem sabbati; *obdormiuit in domino.* Annus erat incarnationis domini millesimus sexagesimus⁵ septimus, regni Willelmi iunioris decimus; post annos suscepti episcopatus triginta quatuor, menses quatuor; dies *quatuor*, anno etatis sue octogesimo septimo. Lauerunt ergo corpus quod iam spe resurrectionis prefulgidum; stupori et uenerationi *erat* uisentibus. Anulum⁶ autem quem in consecratione acceperat, multis annis ante *digito eius herere*⁷ non potuit, et crebro lapsus; nunquam tamen amissus est. Quippe ita caro digitorum exinanita fuerat; ut uix pellicula ossibus *inhereret. In lapsu igitur anuli dolor suorum mortem antistitem*⁸ proximam *presagiebat. Quod cum ei dixissent; fertur respondisse. Anulum quem sine ambitu suscepi; inseparabilem mihi in humum portabo.* Tum uero ut dicere cepi quidam temptauerunt *anulum* subtrahere digito, siue ut memorie loco haberent; siue ut fidem *dicti* probarent. Uerum multis conatibus

¹ H. "Ibernie."

³ R. omits this chapter.

⁵ H. "nonagesimus."

⁷ H. "habere."

² H. "sese illius."

⁴ H. "perficitur."

⁶ H. "anulus."

⁸ Sic MS.; H. reads "antistitis."

[III, 22.]

et spe simul frustrati extrahere non preualuerunt. | Ita pellis plena ; | fo. 43b.
protuberantes articuli, nervorum integritas restituta, uidebantur
mortuo ; que pre abstinentia exinanita fuerant uiuo.¹

Qualiter omnium suarum sollicitudinem mortuus non deposuit.

13. Effertur² interea corpus, ad ecclesiam proceditur ; quam [III, 23.]
 ipse de uetusta fecerat nouam. Locatur ante altare feretrum ;
 circumsedente clero. Ibi nocte illa cum sequente die ac nocte ;
 orationum instantiam, lacrimarum exequias deo turificabant. Cum
 uero psalterium canere debuissent ; quidam monachorum longi
 laboris pertesi, quo quisque poterat in angulos concesserunt ;
 querentes oportunitatem dormiendi. Sed eis omnibus aderat epis-
 copus ; increpans³ sompnolentos, pulsans et excitans ; ne ceptis
 orationibus desisterent iubens. Quorum unus solus sedens et ociosus,
 praua quidem mente uolutabat.⁴ Cui sanctus fremebundus apparuit,
 exprobrauit delictum quod animo conceperat ; intentans penam nisi
 animum reuocasset. Exterritus monachus minarum fulmine,⁵ simul
 et tormento conscientie ; abiurauit de quo arguebatur delictum,
 factus precepti deinceps studiosus executor. Ita miro modo ouium
 suarum sollicitudinem et curam mortuus non deposuit, immo eo
 efficacius eas procurauit in terris ; quo maiori gloria omnia intuentem
 contemplabatur in celis, summum scilicet pastorem Iesum qui pro eis
 mortuus est. Die itaque dominica ossa pii patris intulerunt sepulchro, [III, 24.]
 sed eius memoria in eorum numquam sepulta est animo. Quippe
 eius beneficia etiam post mortem in multis experti,⁶ dum interpellatus
 eorum succurrit necessitatibus ; adiutor in oportunitatibus in tribu-
 latione.

De libro surrepto meritis sancti uiri restituto.

14. Non⁷ multo post eius transitum laicus quidam seruiens [III, 25.]
 ecclesie, librum sibi subreptum conquestus est. Cumulabat dolorem [III, 26.]
 quod alienus fuerat, eumque dominus uehementer urgebat. Quo
 circa cotidie acclinis tumulto, rogabat dominum ; ut per merita | fo. 44.
 beati Wlstan librum restitueret, et signo aliquo per cuius manus
 surreptus fuisset ; innotesceret. Elapsi sunt aliquot dies, et ipse
 assiduabat preces. Instante autem die Ascensionis domini, cum
 enixius solito profusiusque oraret ; reus latrocinii diluculo cum re

¹ H. " in uiuo."

² R. omits this chapter.

³ H. " increpat."

⁴ H. " uoluptabat."

⁵ H. " fulmine."

⁶ H. adds " sunt."

⁷ R. omits this chapter.

furtiua ecclesiam ingredi presumpsit. Alter orabat, et iste stupidus stabat herens in se ipso; alter perseuerabat orans, et iste furore arreptus demone agebatur; horrificosque stridores attollere cepit. Accurrunt audientes; factum inquirunt et causam, et reperiunt in sinu eius librum; extrahunt ostendunt, et comperitum est¹ fuisse qui surreptus fuerat. Ita dum predo alienam mentem induit; fidelis orator suum recepit. Et quia frater patientis eius congregationis erat monachus; rogauit obnixe conuentum, ut prostrati ad beati uiri tumulum; precibus suis sanam² mentem repararent furenti. Quod et factum est; et coram omnibus ille resipuit, et gauisi sunt impetrata sanitatis effectum. Hinc mos inoleuit illius provincie hominibus; ut omnes corporum inequalitates, omnes animorum turbines, non secus ac uiuenti grato insinuent susurro. Recepit ille omnium uota largo caritatis sinu, nec recedunt ab eo fraudati a desiderio suo.

Qualiter reclusus liberatus est ab infestationibus diaboli per staminiam sancti uiri.

[III, 27.]

15. Erat³ quidam dei seruus inclusus orationibus et solitudini ut id genus hominum deditus. Ei antiquus hostis qui nequibat auferre religionem; inuidebat quietem, multas sancto uiro struens molestias. Ingenti conflictu nequissimi spiritus ut non dicam una die; et certe nec hora uacarent insidie. Poteratque reclusus fatigari, nec uinci poterat; cum aliud sit fragilitatis humane, aliud opis diuine. Habebat fiduciam in domino et in meritis beati Wlstan, unde et luctum suam, et tribulationem Wigornensi ecclesie significauit; postulans et de reliquiis | eius ei aliquid indulgerent. At illi puritatem uiri agnoscentes, miserunt ei interiorum tunicam quam staminiam dicimus; quam sanctus extremum agens flatum indutus fuerat. Statim ut indumentum accepit, immo ut uidit; fugerunt infestationum nebule, rediit sereni cordis tranquillitas. Nichil quod stimularet ulterius persensit, nichil quod turbaret suspirauit. Multoque studio uestem inuolutam cum soporem meditaretur superponebat capiti, quod esset tutele contra fantasias inimici.

| fo. 44b.

Qualiter apparuit recluso supradicto.

[III, 28.]

16. Idem⁴ quadam die iam sole in noctem occiduo, cum grandem strepitum cuiusdam ad fenestram pulsantis attonitis auribus audis-

¹ H. inserts " eum."

² R. omits this chapter.

³ H. om.

⁴ R. omits this chapter.

set; percunctatur *quis esset*. Responsum est afforis Wlstanum esse Wigornensem episcopum amicum eius, *qui aquam sibi dari postulabat; ut dilutis* manibus ecclesiam ingressus, horas cantaret amico. *Peciiit eciam*¹ *quatinus* ad amicitie pignus; daret sibi caracallam quam habebat. Recluso respondente sese nullam habere, idque pontificem non latere; *respondit episcopus. Habebis in proximo; ut nichil desit tibi qui tam gratanter famularis deo*. Tanta uero lux e pontificali corpore ut uidebatur resultabat; ut circumpositas regiones hoc corusco *illustraret*. Iam uero ingressus ecclesiam, post genuflexionem et orationem, cruce frontem signatus; horarum *inceptit officium*. Respondebant ei tres puelle; prope astantes, que *pro* liniamentorum gratia et speciei miraculo; spectaculum humano generi *uidebantur*.² Cantibus explicitis *una* in medio stans que eminentia stature prestare ceteris uidebatur; benedictionem conquiscenti episcopo indulsit. Interea solitarius lectum suum pulcherrime stratum et caracallam superpositam ymaginatus; cum suggessisset antistiti quatinus quod rogauerat acciperet. Hoc responsum accepit. Haberet ipse cum gratia; | fo. 45. *quod ei esset* quandoque maioris glorie pignus.

Qualiter uisus est inter choros angelorum.

17. Fuit³ hoc tempore apud Briuentonam⁴ bone uite presbiter [III, 29.] Dunstanus nomine cuius sanctitatis odor circumquaque fragrabat. Huic consimili uirtutum studio aduigilabat eiusdem uille reclusa nulli uirorum sanctitate inferior femina. Nescires quem preferres; ita emulis certabant bonis, presbiter instruendi doctrina; et mulier parendi disciplina. *Facti itaque in excessu mentis et in celum rapti; gloriam sanctorum et choros angelorum contemplati sunt. Animo autem et oculo Wlstanum querentes; uiderunt eum* inter choros sanctorum; nichil minus quam ceteros habentem glorie, et aliquanto plusquam *alios* inferioris gradus habentem gratie.⁵ *Ad se itaque reuersi diffundebant circumquaque uisionem quam uiderant; uterque eandem referens, in nullo discrepans; ut assertionis eorum argumentum eo ualidius in concussum staret. Denique tantam gratiam eis uirtus diuina contulerat; quod quicquid dicebant ita excipiebatur, quasi ex celestibus insonuisset templis; quasi ex diuinis praeun-*deretur aditis.

¹ H. "autem."

³ R. omits this chapter.

⁵ H. "glorie."

² H. "essent."

⁴ H. "Briuentunam."

Qualiter spiritu prophetico predixit noue ecclesie incendium.

[III, 10.]

| fo. 45b.

(1147).

18. Nunc¹ autem res postulat ut ea referamus que recens etas recolet; attestatur et comprobatur, et in ore multorum sunt; et fidei uallo munita subsistunt. Beatus itaque Wlstanus ad huc in carne militans nouam ecclesiam Wigornie construxit; amplam satis et spatiosam² propter frequentiam populorum qui diebus festis in condensis confluiebant. Eratque templum hoc peramplius satis³ et perfectius priore quod beatus Oswaldus fecerat in oratorium; ut in eo religionis semita a religiosis artius seruaretur. Quadam uero die cum uetustam ecclesiam fecisset detegi; stabat in cimiterio, tacitus quidem; set scaturiebat⁴ in animo cogitatio, que tandem in lacrimarum ymbrem erupit. Sciscitantibus cur fieret; respondit. Nos miseri | sanctorum destruimus opera, pompose putantes [nos]⁵ facere meliora. Quanto prestantior Oswaldus qui hanc fecit ecclesiam; quot sancti uiri in ea religiose uixerunt. Astantes autem dicebant non debere illum tristari, sed letari potius quod ei seruatum esset diuinitus sic magnificare domum domini; sed nichilominus perseuerabat plorans. Tactusque spiritu prophetie predixit noue ecclesie incendium; quo subsequentibus annis post mortem eius conflagrauit, ubi meritum uiri mirabiliter deus declarauit. Nam cum omnia que asportari poterant extraherentur ab incendio; solum pallium super sepulchrum eius relictum est. Tota ciuitas simul et ecclesia conflagrauit, omnibusque que in ipsa poterant comburi in cinerem uersis; solum pallium illibatum remansit, et quod magis stupeas nate ante sepulchrum strate; intacte reperte sunt. Uideres utrumque opertum carbonibus, sed carbonum ignis etiam stramenta molliora⁶ uiolare non preualuit. Hoc a multis cognitum est et uisum; presertim a Bernardo Meneuensi⁷ episcopo, qui transiens per ciuitatem ecclesiam ingressus, palliumque cum natis contemplatus; excussis carbonibus integrum reperit et obstupuit. Hocque⁸ postmodum Eugenio⁷ pape literis suis protestatus est; petitionem simul adiciens quatinus auctoritate apostolica fiat⁹ in celebrationem uniuersalis ecclesie nomen beati Wlstani¹⁰ cuius memoria in benedictione est apud deum.

De muliere incurua curata.

[1147-50.]

~~10~~ Erat¹¹ Wigornie muliercula quedam cuius natale solum fortu-

¹ R. omits this chapter.

⁴ H. "scaturibat."

⁶ H. "meliora."

⁸ H. "Hoc quoque."

¹¹ R. omits this chapter.

² H. "speciosam."

⁵ MS. "nos" cancelled. H. "nos."

⁷ See Intro., pp. xx, xxi.

⁹ H. "fieret."

¹⁰ H. "Wlstini."

nam et parentes quamquam et hec nouerim pretereo, ne superfluis¹ insistens legentibus uidear onerosus. Hec ab utero matris sue ita inclinata erat et incurua, quod corpus dampnatum et motui inobediens; manibus super terram quasi cadauer uiuum trahebatur. Corpus in dorso protuberabat² ut struma, clunes contracte moueri quidem poterant set non protendi; | genua inflexo poplite concreta; | fo. 46. incessum omnem abnuebant. Cum loco mouendum erat ui manuum reliquum corpus raptabatur more trahentium atque serpentium; erantque genua pro pedibus, cum uero sedendum; uergebat in latus, nec sine conatu et difficultate naturali ordine sedere preualebat; anteriore parte tunc pendente deorsum. Que primis annis apud Rippel ad portas episcopi iacens eius elemosina aliquandiu uitam transigebat. [Ripple, co. Worc.] Inde Wigorniam delata; in atrio ecclesie cotidianam stipem mendicabat. Ubi facto tugurio; septem et eo amplius annis mansit, exposita omnibus et nota; qui pretergredebantur uiam. Tandem in sompnis admonita ut causa quam diu fouerat relicta; modo quo poterat ingrederetur ecclesiam. Eratque tertia lux post natiuitatem beate Marie qua illa ecclesiam ingressa; lento gressu fatigata ante tumbam beati Wlstani pausam fecit. Admirantibus qui eam nouerant et interrogantibus quomodo et quare illuc uenisset; tanquam in extasi facta minime respondit, unde et maior concursus hominum circa eam factus est; sperantium de celo signum uidere. Nec multo post; et mulier illa torqueri cepit et agitari a spiritu, nescio quid secum murmurans; quasi contempleretur aliquid in mentis excessu. Hec cum conuentui innotuissent; dicta hora sexta que tunc hora diei erat conuenimus ante sepulchrum, quidam in uoce exultationis quidam in uoce flentium; omnes autem in uocem orationis conclamantes; ut causa egrotantis et sanitas promoueretur meritis³ Wlstani apud deum. Volutabatur misera a latere in latus; et in motu illo secreto conatu quodam neruos resolui, membra uideres extendi; et in breui uniuersa compago corporis propriam porrigebatur in formam. Et quod magis mirabar in extensione illa corporis strepitus quidam audiebatur siue ex resiliitione ossuum in iuncturam; siue ex indignatione | neruorum, | fo. 46b qui cgebantur diuinitus protendi ex gratia; quod non poterant humanitus⁴ ex natura. Expleto labore quieuit paululum, sicque 165. resumpto spiritu surrexit; et stetit incolumis. Innuuebant ei quidam ut ire temptaret si posset. At illa que numquam ambulauerat, extensis in celum manibus lento tamen gressu et titubanti ire perrexit. Nos autem omnes uno ore, unanimes uoto Te Deum laudamus procla-

¹ H. "superfluous."³ H. inserts "beati."² H. inserts "uacat."⁴ H. "humanitas."

[1125-50.]

mantes ; aliis interim signa pulsantibus, eam ad altare beate Marie preeuntem prosecuti sumus. Simon autem tunc Wigornensis¹ episcopus equo ascenso ut urbem egrederetur, audiens mirabilia que in ecclesia fiebant ; descendit, accurrit ; eamque erectam uidit et ambulantem. Et totus resolutus in lacrimas ; eo deuotius magnificenciam glorie sanctitatis beati Wlstani gratiarum actione prosequabatur, quo mulierem erectam nouerat, quam uiderat incuruam ; utpote quam multo tempore cotidiano pane sustentauerat. Illa uero non in uacuum gratiam dei recipiens, non multo post sumpto religionis uelo reclusa facta solitariam elegit² uitam ; quam prudenter duxit, et consummauit in pace.

De ydropyco curato.

20. Instabant³ dies Pentecostes et erat Wigornie multa turba que conuenerat ad diem festum. Et aduectus est iuuenis quidam de Herefordensi diocesi ; quem uniuersalis tumor corporis ita inflexibilem fecerat, quod in nullam partem nullo modo posset conamine aliquo inclinari. Ferebatur corpore inflato et rigido, totaque cutis ita erat obducta nigro ; quod pellem ethiopsis induisse uideretur. Faciem totam ita tumor coequauerat ; quod uix nasi prominentia, uix oculorum concaua apparebant. Uenter inobediens, pedes pre tumore ad gradiendum inhabiles ; | omnium iudicio eum ydropisi laborare nuntiabant, ita intercutaneus humor occupauerat uniuersa. Portabatur a duobus ad sepulchrum beati uiri,⁴ eo enim uenire in sompnis erat admonitus ut dicebat. Et paululum quiescenti sopor irrepsit.⁵ Ut autem effulsit⁶ dies ; illuxit egroto respectus dei desuper, et apparuit liber ab omni oppressione illa noxia ; refloruit cutis, resedit tumor ; totumque corpus agile et sanum repertum est. Quidam autem curiosius inquirentes quo tanta humorum corruptio deuenisset, cum tanto tempore interius consumi non posset ; inuenerunt in tybiis eius quasi facto uulnere cutim scissam, qua sanies effluxerat ; eratque circa eum quasi in aquarum profluuio iacuisset. Surrexit itaque incolumis et ambulauit, magnificans deum in sancto suo ; cuius meritis tam citam ei indulsit sanitatem.

Explicit uita sancti Wlstani episcopi et confessoris.

¹ H. "Wigorniensis."

³ R. omits this chapter.

⁵ H. "erepsit."

² H. "egit."

⁴ H. "Wlstani."

⁶ H. "effusit."

CONTENTS OF THE ROMSEY LIFE (R).

- CAP. 1. (fo. 55*b*, col. 2). Early life of Wulfstan to the assumption of the monastic habit.
- CAP. 2. (fo. 56, col. 2). The priorate of Wulfstan. The story of the monk Winrich.
- CAP. 3. (fo. 56*b*). The miraculous escape of a workman who fell from the roof of the church.
- CAP. 4. (fo. 56*b*, col. 2). Wulfstan made bishop. His care of the diocese. The Norman Conquest.
- CAP. 5. (fo. 57). The story of the deposition and restoration of Wulfstan.
- CAP. 6. (fo. 57*b*). Wulfstan heals a demoniac woman at Evesham and a madman at Cleeve.
- CAP. 7. (fo. 57*b*, col. 2). The healing of the leper from Kent.
- CAP. 8. (fo. 58). The miraculous appearance of Wulfstan during a storm at sea.
- CAP. 9. (fo. 58, col. 2). The story of Ailsi of Longney.
- CAP. 10. (fo. 58*b*). A blood-feud at Gloucester ended by the influence of Wulfstan.
- CAP. 11. (fo. 58*b*, col. 2). The story of a priest who would not make peace with his neighbour.
- CAP. 12. (fo. 58*b*, col. 2). The miracles wrought by Wulfstan. The personal habits of the bishop. His death.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER OF ROMSEY LIFE

| *fo. 58b,*
col. 2.

CAP. 12. Hec de innumeris miraculis que per uirum dei adhuc ab eo¹ uiuente operabatur deus breuitatis causa ; pauca dicta sufficiant. Nunc preter ea que dicta sunt aliquid de moribus eius breuiter scribam, ut qui eum imitari in gloria miraculorum non potest, saltem imitetur eum in spiritu humili ; in habitu mediocri, in conuersatione honesta et utili. Nunquam post religionis habitum nec ante per aliquot annos unctioribus cibis corpus curauit ; nec sagimine usus nec carnibus. Legebantur ad mensam eius libri edificationi accomodi ; cunctis interim summum prebentibus silentium. Lectione autem perlecta exponebat eam patria lingua ; ut celestem impartiret alimoniam quibus corporalem ministrauerat. Curiales suos cotidie audire missas et horas precepit ; et exploratores ad hoc constituit ut nullum impune hoc dimittere sinerent. Nemine² laicum de suis quoque mitteret cui non prius preces, | septies in die dicendas iniungeret hoc congruum asseuerans ut sicut clerici septem³ horas, ita laici septem orationes deo libarent. Siquis autem ante eum iuraret ; statim ferule uindicta sequebatur. Matutinas semper in ecclesia cantabat ; quamuis ab hospicio multum distaret. Erat uir dei tante tolerantie ut nulla eum turbaret illusio ; nullum incommodum concuteret in peccatum. Missas duas ad minus cotidie audire et ipse terciam cantare solebat. Pauperum curam maxima agens diligentia ante se illos sedibus gregatim disponebat ; affluenter queque necessaria ministrans. Humilitatis illius ubique ; maxime inter monachos multa fuere indicia. Quando erat Wigornie ; missam maiorem cotidie fere dicebat. Dixit enim se monachum illius loci esse ; et septimanam ut ceteros debere. Ideoque quod suo expleret ordine nequiret ; suppleret pro aduentus sui tempore. Hiis et huiusmodi predictis miraculis clarus uirtutibus plenus ; etatis sue anno octogesimo septimo, a suscepto episcopatu tricesimo quinto. Anno domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto ; quartodecimo kalendas Februarii obdormiuit in domino. Sepultusque fuit in ecclesia ubi nunc solempniter est translatus ; cuius meritis et suffragiis a cunctis protegatur aduersis et eternis perfruamur gaudiis ; largiente domino nostro Iesu Christo qui regnat nunc et in omnibus seculis. Amen.⁴

Explicit de sancto Wlstando Wygorniensi episcopo.

¹ Sic MS.

² Sic MS. for "neminem."

³ Sic MS. for "septem."

⁴ Cap. 12 is a brief summary of a number of chapters in the longer abridgment.

SHORT LIFE OF WULFSTAN IN MS. COTT.
VESP. E, 9

(This life is related to the Durham version cited in the footnotes as "D.")

Gesta ¹ . . . in patrono. Regnante ² . . . uitam celibem duxit a puero, et in fructu centesimo deum per desiderium querere; per cogitationem inuenire, per gustum tangere, salubriter satagebat. Ne autem segetes boni agricolae zizanniorum mixtura horrentibus fructis sordescerent induit monachum Brithego prestante benedictionem et habitum. Et prudenter quidem ut euaderet Egyptiam dominationem; seculi pallium fugiens dereliquit.

Adolescebat in uiro germen omne uirtutum prerogatiua sanctitatis sic enituit; ut optimates Anglorum eius amicitiam et audissime optarent et constantissime tenerent. Iugis in orationibus; in genuflexionibus creber, plumam ³ . . . soporem. Tribus in ebdomada ⁴ . . . gulam. Unde ⁵ . . . in exemplo.

Quodam tempore ⁶ . . . quod euasit.

Vacante deinde sede Uuygorniensis ecclesie Aldredus successit uir singularis industrie; consiliare sibi amicos quos uel blandus allicit; uel dator obligat, uel promissor inuitat. Unde defuncto Eboracensi antistite; acclamatur Aldredus successioni illius hocque clero et populo gratanter consedit. Romam profectus pro pallio; Nicholaum papam precibus annuentem non habuit donec Uygor-

lectio
secunda.

lectio
tertia.
lectio
quarta.

¹ As in prologue of D. ~~above~~.

² As D. Bk. I, c. 3.

³ As D. Bk. I, c. 5.

² As D. Bk. I, c. 2.

⁴ As D. Bk. I, c. 9.

⁶ As D. Bk. I, c. 8.

niensi presulatu renuñciasset. Renuñciauit; et pallium promeruit. Rediens ergo, cardinales secum ad regem duxit ad expedienda quedam negotia in regno; eosque Uuýgorniam duxit, et Uulstano commisit ad exhibendos. Exhibuit eos et procurauit ad gratiam, et gratiam pro gratia | sedulus sibi hospes adquisiuit. Unde cum in curia postmodum coram rege et magnatibus regni de episcopatu Uuýgorniensi tractaretur cardinales Uulstanum sicut ex conuictu didicerant; pontificio dignum pronunciarunt. Assensi sunt omnes, rex fauore; isti testimonio, omnes iudicio. Qui cum in episcopum ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo consecraretur; eius pronosticum fuit. Ecce uere Israelita in quo dolus non est. Nichil experietur uerius; qui uitam eius nouerit audierit; legeritque diligenter.

| fo. 12.

lectio
quinta.

Quinto anno collati pontificatus Uulstano; rex Eaduardus diem clausit extremum, relinquens Anglie non minimum seminarium discordie; Uuillmo comite Normannie sibi coronam uendicante quam Haroldus fauore procerum iam optinuerat. Comes ergo contractis opibus in manu ualida in Angliam applicuit. Cuius aduentus fama ad aures Haroldi, et principum regni allapsa decurrens; una omnes et unanimiter ad bellum incitauit. | Accinguntur, in prelium congregiuntur, et a rege uniuersi uirtutis suscipiunt incentiuum. Iuuentus Anglorum sane insignis, iuuentus strenua et nulli cessura uictori, si consultius ausa; si capud nacta incolume, periurii regis penale fatum non sensissent. Set heu hominum mens; uenturi nescia. Arte hostium et irrupcione acies intercisa prorumpitur, et nostrorum uirtus sui prodiga et uite contemptor impetus succubuit, totumque robur regni cum rege mactator gladius sic assumpsit; quod nunquam denuo resumptis uiribus ad libertatem assurgere attemptarentur.

| fo. 12b:

lectio
sexta.

Translato itaque Anglorum regno ad exterarum nationes; cunctisque Neustrie ¹ freno subiugatis beatus Uulstanus quasi ex Anglis superstes pontificatu indignus decernitur quasi homo ydiota; nimie simplicitatis et inpericie. Unde iubetur baculum resignare et anulum; archiepiscopo annuente et rege hoc ipsum prescribente. At Uulstanus inquires | insufficientiam meam non ignoro, et huius syno(di) ² sententie cedens; baculum resignabo, set non uobis, accedensque ad tumulum regis Eaduardi, et ipse quoque sanctus domini in lapidem ³ . . . alii non restituendum.

| fo. 13.

¹ MS. "neustrie" with "s" interlined in different hand.

² MS. damaged.

³ Continuing as D. Bk. I, c. 12 with slight and unimportant variations.

In ¹ illo tempore ; dixit Iesus dominus saluator parabolam hanc. *fo. 13b.*
Homo quidam peregre proficiscens uocauit seruos suos et tradidit illis lectio
*bona sua ; et reliqua.*² Beatus itaque Uulstanus gratia sanitarum septima.
 in spiritu dei sic enituit quod non est uidere facile aliquid genus
 morbi ; quod eius meritis non resumpserit ad medelam. Si pro-
 ponis mutum siue lingua in gutture siue contractior more fuerit,
 crescit, adaptatur ad loquelam. Si cecum a natiuitate, siue alia
 causa fuerit amictus lumine exhillarescit uisu. Si claudum, si con-
 tractum ; leniuntur nerui, protenduntur membra ad incessum. Si
 paraliticum siue lesio, particularis, siue fuerit uniuersalis consoli-
 dantur bases, et surgit et ambulat. Si periculum in mari quas
 naufragiis horret ; aquas tranquillas facit. Set et leprosum ne
 transi | eris ; in cuius facie pustuli horribiles resideru(n)t³ quieuit | *fo. 14.*
 fetor ; cutis prolapsa in squamas mu . . .³ oculis mundatum
 approbarunt.

Cum itaque in hunc modum sanctus iste acceptu⁴ seculo mundo lectio
 mirabilis haberetur ; originariam carnis dissolutionem imminere octaua.
 febris protendebat, superueniens lenta quieta quidem set assidua
 habens interdum falsam quietem quam reddiuuius dolor postea acrius
 innouabat. Prolixitas igitur egritudinis exhausto corpore uires
 augebat anime ut siquid in eo esset inmaturatione eterne glorie feruor
 infirmitatis decoqueret et in infirmitate uirtus proficeretur.

Igitur ante octo dies discessus sui sacre inunctionis sacramentum lectio
 suscepit, sicque quartadecima kalendas Februarii obdormiuit in nona.
 domino diem claudens momentaneum ; ut transiret ad eternum.
 Annus erat incarnationis domini millesimus, nonagesimus quintus ;
 regni Uuilelmi iunioris decimus, post annos suscepti episcopatus
 triginta quatuor, menses quatuor dies quatuor | (a)nno⁵ etatis sue | *fo. 14b.*
 octogesimo septimo. La(ue)runt⁵ beati uiri corpus quod iam spe
 resurrectionis prefulgidum ; stupori et uenerationi erat uisentibus.
 Effertur deinde corpus proceditur ad ecclesiam ; quam ipse de
 uetusta fecerat nouam. Locatur ante altare feretrum circumse-
 dente conuentu, clero et populo ; qui pro defuncto orationum in-
 stantiam lacrimarum exequias deo turrificabant. Et cum iam
 psalmodia aliquandiu protraheretur, quidam longi laboris perthesi ;
 dare sompnum oculis et palpebris dormitacionem satagebant, illi
 dormientes isti sompnolenti. Et ecce beatus Uulstanus cuius co⁶pus

¹ " Secundum Math'm " is added to " lectio septima " in MS.

² MS. Rel' with the letters " cat " written above in a later hand.

³ MS. damaged.

⁴ Sic MS. for " accepto."

⁵ MS. damaged.

in medio et ipse permedium eorum transiens sompnolentes¹ increpat, excitat dormientes. Ita miro modo ouium suarum solitudinem et curam etiam mortuus non deposuit; immo efficacius eas procurauit in terris quo maiori gloria intuentem contemplabatur in celis cui honor et gloria per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

¹ *Sic* MS. for "sompnolentos."

THE MIRACLES OF ST WULFSTAN

From MS. B.iv, 39b, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

**Incipit prologus nouorum miraculorum sanctissimi presulis
Wlstan, anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo
. ducentesimo primo uigilia depositionis eiusdem.**

(Jan. 18.
1201.)

Si salutifere fidei nostre rudimentum incians circumspecte contemplemur; occurrit auditus ex quo fides ad uitam assistit, uerbum; per quod fides prodit in actum, preuentrix gratia utrinque legens incrementum; sequentibus signis aspirat ad progressum. Itaque fides primo signis prouecta; adhuc quibusdam gradibus ad sui perfectionem ducitur, ut nondum perfecta dum cresceret; diceret aliquis deo. Credo domine, adiua incredulitatem meam. Credulus erat ex fide, incredulus perfectione. Si enim non prestat gratiam qui contulit fidem; sine operibus mortua delitescit. Sed quid imperfectius fide est hodie in modernis uidere? Parum in fide uerum, minus erectum in spe; minimum feruidum in caritate. Fides torpet in ocio, spes sub modio; friget caritas in gelicidio. Et non est opus signo ut respirent? Signa nostra non uidimus, immo uidemus; sed non credimus dicentes. Signa infidelium sunt; sed nos fideles. Set quomodo fides argumentum sui erit et substantia rerum sperandarum, si opera desint; si non emineant qui probati sunt argento, si non clausa meritorum assurgant in lucem miraculis quasi per experimentum; ut sancti in deo, deus ipse in sanctis suis mirabilis predicetur? Signa quidem infidelium sunt; ut habeatur fides non habita. Fidelium uero sunt; ut habita habundantius habeatur in gratia. Ad hoc sancti tonant rûnis, choruscant miraculis; ut caleat quod tepidum, resumat ad uitam; quod putabatur inanimatum. Ad hoc propheta Helyseus cum ei spiritus prophetie deesset; salten applicari iussit, ut per laudem psalmodie adueniens spiritus; animum eius impleret de futuris.

St. Mark ix,
23 (Vulg)
| fo. 47b.

IV Regum
iii. 15.

Ezech. xli,
25.

[fo. 48.

[Bologna.]

fo. 48b.

Ad hoc in templo Ezechielis ante frontem uestibuli pictura palmarum describitur. Palme prefigurant merita sanctorum. Set antequam palme in manibus eorum; picture palmarum uisuntur in frontibus, dum sancti leprosos mundant; tactu egritudines fugant, et per hoc foris ostenditur quales apud omnipotentem deum habeantur interius. Cum autem absorta fuerit mors in uictoria; tunc palme erunt in manibus, non picture palmarum in frontibus. Hec iccirco sic exarauerim, ut lector memor uestibuli non transeat clausis oculis picturam palmarum in frontibus; | dicens signa que per beatum Wlstanum operatur deus tribuens omnia superfluere, quia non est qui hesitet in fide. Sed numquid non est qui sordeat in cinere? Sed subcinericius panis reuersetur ut pars mundior appareat; et in hoc signo sapientia uincet maliciam. Cum itaque de sancto quodam coram summo pontifice in sanctorum cathalogo annotando sermo sereretur; uitaque eius gloriose signis approbata legeretur, non est sumptum argumentum ab antiquitate; nec a miraculis fides, set de uisu exigebantur testes; cum antiquitas sibi satis sit ad probationem, dummodo exstantis rei memoria probetur ex auditu. Quod cum in partibus nostris referrent, qui beati Wlstani negotium procurare proposuerant; multorum mentes dolore contritas, confectas merore reppererunt. Sed deus ipse, ipse humilium consolator; hoc nostrum turbidum serenauit in breui, picturam palmarum picturauit ad frontem; et sanctum nostrum quasi rediuiua manu coruscare fecit miraculis, ita quod nouitas ex antiquo; et ex nouitate antiquitas irrefragabiliter assurgat ad fidem. Fit undique concursus populorum, curantur languidi; et de uisu testes exuberant, quorum sonus in fines terre exiliuit; auditus est in compitis Ascalonis. His itaque pater reuerende sic prelibatis in prologum, sanctitatis uestre precepto ad miracula sancti stilum flecto; in quibus iter uestrum pro sancto canonizando non inmerito connumerauerim, quod etsi periculosum; prospere tamen direxit deus diris in cotibus per iuga Alpium, ubi nix in pendulo; ubi pes anceps in lubrico, preceps in arduo; sed nichil horum uobis et uestris incommodi quippiam inportauit. Quod autem Bononie ablatis copiis equis abductis in predam retineri uidebamini; quodque Rome hospicio uestro obsesso dum contiguit domus diruerentur, fierentque | cedes undique; procurante beato uiro in cuius famulatu peregre agebatis, nichil iniurie in his uobis accessit; sed etiam ablata Bononie, manibus relata predonum; Rome uobis cum integritate sua peruenerunt. **Explicit prologus.**

Incipiunt miracula sanctissimi Wlstani patris nostri.*De muliere incurua.*

1. Erat Wigornie mulier quedam ab annis quinque sic inclinata, quod pectus incuruum genibus herebat; nec extendi nec erigi poterat quouis conamine, manibus pedibusque ferebatur semper acclinis humi. Hec cotidie ciuium pasta elemosinis; nota satis facie, egritudine magis. Aduenerat aniuersarius dies beati Wlstani, et misera hec in sompnis admonita; portari se fecit ad tumultum sancti. Verens autem ne spes quam in sompnis conceperat obduceretur reatu aliquo ree conscientie; confessorem peciit, confessa; ad tumbam accessit, preces quas nouerat fudit; suspensa desiderio. Nec multo post audires nervos extendi; in propriam formam membra protendi, et tandem erecta; corpore integro perrexit ad altare. Vestes eius que ante totum corpus obtexerant; iam uix genua tegebant. Confluxere uiri et mulieres; affuit et clerus, sed et omnis plebs ut uidit; dedit laudem deo.

De muliere paralitica curata.

2. Erat et alia in eadem urbe mulier ab annis duobus paralitica, quam sic priuauerat defectus regitiue uirtutis omni motu corporis; quod quasi corpore emortuo iacebat immobilis motu proprio, nisi moueretur adminiculo alieno. Hec perlata ad tumultum sancti, dormiens paululum; quieuit. Expergefata; sanam se reperit. Pergensque ad altare; manibus expansis se prostrauit, et mira agilitate se erexit. | Quod cum tercio fecisset; aspicientes plures |fo. 49. coegit ad lacrimas, quod membra biennio iam deperdita; motu priuata, tam cite agilitatis conualuere in robur.

De muto a natiuitate curato.

3. Uenerat Wigorniam mutus quidam a natiuitate. Ubi cum per annum et eo amplius moram fecisset; putabatur a quibusdam non quod loquelam amiserit, sed quod eam finxerit se amisisse. Quibus cum multociens aperto ore linguam ostenderet; in imo gutture formam paruissimi digiti auricularis pretendebat. Quod cum uidissent; non mirabantur iam non loquentem, cui instrumentum habile defuisset. Hic accessit ad tumultum sancti, non habens in ore quid diceret; habuit tamen in mentis desiderio quod offerret. In breui afflante spiritu gratie cepit loqui; sed quasi in gutture. Creuit lingua, et cum ad altare peruenisset; integra inuenta est. Acciti qui eum mutum nouerant, et linguam uiderant breuiorem;

uidentes glorificant deum, et ex ore eorum quoniam ipsi fideles ; stetit uerbum uerum in ore uniuersorum.

De alio muto cuius lingua amputata fuerat fraudulenter per sanctum Wlstanum curato.

4. Innectam et simile factum, in hoc tamen dissimile ; quia huic corruptio nature in causa fuit, sequenti uis illata nature ; causam dedit. Vir quidam ex uxore legitima filium susceperat. Qua mortua ; duxerat aliam. Que fidem thori non usquequaque legitime obseruans ; uirum suum interfecit, uerensque filium uiri ; nouercam se ei exhibuit, eiusque linguam fraudulenter amputauit. Fugiens ille et hostiatim querens uictualia, ad hostium cuiusdam militis peruenit. Ubi cum signis et nutibus ioculariter panem peteret, placuit militi ; cumque admisit, | nutriuit ; eius delectatus obsequio pluribus annis. Audiens uxor militis mira que gerebat Wlstanus in tumulto, adduxit puerum ad tumulum. Cumque obdormisset ; mulier sollicita pro eo orationibus insistebat. Tandem circa mediam noctem puer euigilans, linguam recepit et loquebam. Sed non sine fide testium adhibita est fides miraculo. Miles enim qui eum nutrierat audito miraculo cum omni uicinia sua Wigorniam ueniens, deo gratias referentes ; hec uerissima esse protestabantur. Affuit eo tempore uenerabilis episcopus Herefordie. Qui cum iam dictum puerum uidisset ; presentibus uenerabilibus Wigornensi, de sancto Asaph, Landauensi, Bangorensi episcopis ; uocauit eum nomine suo. Cui cum arridens respondisset ; obstupuit episcopus. Fidemque ampliorem fecit miraculo ; dicens se puerum a multo tempore cognouisse, et etiam in ore eius sepius linguam quesisse ; nec inuenisse. Quod modo loquebatur ; mirum et magnificum dicebat, signumque clementie dei diebus istis inauditum.

De uisione qua tota ecclesia cereis ornata uidebatur.

5. In concursu populorum non modico aduenerat quidam satis note nationis homo, cuius exterior habitus satis in uirum bonum consurgebat. Hic dum nocte quadam se sopori dedisset in eadem ecclesia ; uidebatur ei in sompnis ecclesia tota cereis ornata innumerabilibus, et quasi quodam choro fulguris irradiata. Cum autem dormiens luce illa delectaretur non modicum ; acclamatum a ceteris audiuit, sancta Maria donus tua comburitur. Et ecce beata uirgo quasi descendens de altari ; uociferantibus respondit. Ne miremini super lumine isto, quoniam in triduo uidebitis lumen

aliud; non in sompnis ymaginarium, sed oculis conspicuum; signum uenerabile salutarium uestrorum. Et continuo expegefactus uir ille, accitis pluribus que uiderat enarrauit.

De candela extincta celitus iterum reaccensa.

6. | Tercia nocte postmodum cum clericus quidam a puritate puer | *fo. 50.*
psalterium pro animabus patris et matris beati Wlstani pia deuotione decantaret; candela quam manu tenebat extincta est. Cumque surrexisset puer ut eam accenderet; ignis manifestus desuper infulsit, lucernam accendit. Admirans clericus candelam ardentem uidit, set unde esset ignorauit. Porro puella quedam quasi annorum duodecim cum ignem celitus demissum in manum clerici intueretur descendisse; exclamans, assidentibus ignem ostendit. Omnesque admirantes statim luminaria sua extinxerunt, et ex lumine illo reaccensa; quamdiu materia suberat, extinguere non permittunt. Videres nocte illa gloriam dei in templo sancto suo; quoniam uir quidam cecus ab annis quinque, et mulier ab annis duodecim; uisum receperunt. Puella etiam quedam habens manum aridam; sanam recepit. Mulier quedam habens corpus sic infistulatum, non uno foramine set pluribus ut diceret corpus putrefactum; desiccatis foraminibus et eadem nocte fere clausis, curata est. Puella etiam que lumen primo uiderat; a graui et inconsueto dolore capitis sanata est.

De puero ceco per gloriosi confessoris Christi Wlstani merita curato.

7. Mater cum filio annorum quatuor qui antequam unius esset anni cecus fuerat factus; Wigorniam uenit. Ubi cum aliquandiu ad tumulum sancti moram fecisset; nec se pro filio exaudiri uideret, desperata recessit. Venit egressura fores ecclesie cum filio. Stabatque ibi qui elemosinam distribuebat pauperibus. Et apertis oculis puer; ad panem manum porrexit. Quod cum mater uidisset; admirans ait. Videsne fili? Respondit, Video. Exclamauit mulier pre admiratione, et qui hoc uiderant uociferantes secum ad gratiam agenda; ad altare reduxit.

De multitudine languentium curata, Huberto Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et episcopis presentibus.

7a. Aderat Quadragesime tempus acceptabile, in quo numerantur in deliciis pondus diei et estis, in ieiunio et fletu, et planctu. Et Wigornie conuenerant dompnus Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus cum suffraganeis suis, | procerumque turba non modica; | *fo. 50b.*

tractaturi de negociis regni, et ut Walensium fides fluida ; firmiori nexu adhereret regi et regno. Ante tumultum uenerabilis nostri Wlstani iacebat multitudo magna languentium, cecorum, claudorum, aridorum, prestolantium respectum dei desuper. Et ecce domnus ipse in templo sancto suo pater misericordiarum, largo pietatis sinu suscipiens uota infirmorum ; preces pro infirmis, sanctorum suorum pius exauditor. Ceci uisum, surdi auditum ; gressum claudi, regressum paralitici ; manu diuine opitulationis receperunt, ut per triduum continuum ; nunc decem, nunc duodecim ; nunc quindecim properantes ad altare, ante altare prostrati ad gratiam ; astantem turbam innumeram profluam in lacrimas effecerunt. Stabant hec considerantes dompnus Hubertus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Herefordensis, Landauensis, Bangorensis, et ipse loci ipsius Malgerius episcopi. Casu etiam intererat dompnus archiepiscopus Dublinensis, et abbas Cluniacensis ; et abbates quamplures. Ne quesieris quid habuerint intus, quid foris egerint uiri tam sancti et uenerabiles ; quoniam intus cor in iubilo, foris erat uox in cantico ; psallentes et laudentes dominum. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo incoante *Veni creator spiritus*, ceteris autem respondentibus et dicentibus ; uidimus mirabilia hodie. Eratque uidere ab irriguo inferiori irriguum emanare superius ; dum ab imo suspiria oculos lacrimis profundunt. Omnes proni in terram tudentes pectora, eo quod esset eis umbraculum ab edera Jone in gaudium ; et a summitate uirge Jonathe mel dulcedinis in deuotionem. Nec multo interiecto tempore consimile factum ob eandem causam nec ritu dissimili ; dompnus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Wigorniam adueniens, celebri deuotione iterato peregit ; domino id ipsum procurante, quatinus opus frequentatum uerbum pie a maioribus approbatum ; ceteris esset contra filios diffidencie argu | mentum, quasi locus ab auctoritate.

St. Luke
v, 26.

Jonah ii. 1.

|fo. 51.

De puero in plumbo submerso.

8. Aduenerat Wigorniam mulier quedam ut oraret, relicto domi unius anni paruulo. Cumque nutrix infantem in plumbo balnearet ; relicto puero in plumbo, egressa est ut ligna colligeret ad aquam calidam faciendam ; non satis calidam. Reuersa ; uidit paruulum aqua submersum, uerso capite deorsum ; et pedibus sursum. Quo cum festinatione extracto quasi mortuo ; exiit, clamauit ; uicinos adduxit, anxia querens quid facto opus esset. Omnibus hesitantibus quid agerent ; nutrix interim sibi fuga consuluit. Tandem accersito presbitero aquam beati Wlstani casu in ampulla allatam ;

fudit in os pueri, et eum qui antea intercluso meatu spirituum mortuus credebatur; uagitu et motu quasi redditiuum receperunt.

De puero meritis sancti Wlstani resuscitato.

9. Adduxerat et alia mulier filium suum paruulum tanta obsessum egritudine; ut ab intuentibus mori putaretur. Cumque eum ante tumultum eiulans in ulnis teneret; inualescente morbo clausis oculis capite inclinato, in sinum matris uergens; apparuit exanimis. Mater clamore ualido ingemuit, populumque collacrimari coegit. Cumque diucius fide non modica nomen uenerabilis Wlstani clamans ingeminasset; subito puer oculos aperuit, et apprehensa ueste matris erexit se; et ad mamillam conuertit, quam mater hylaris ei obtulit; suxit, et infra unius hore spacium ludens et gaudens apparuit.

De leproso per sanctum Wlstanum curato.

10. Venerat de Wallia iuuenis quidam qui horrore squalentis lepre obprobrium hominum factus et abiectio plebis, a suis etiam abiectus est; licet et ipse potens et nobilis. Erat ei et intollerabilis fetor, facies sic obducta pustulis; quod pallio superiecto opertus ibat, ne facies horrore; et exalans fumus aliorum esset corruptioni. Ad sepulchrum accessit, per triduum non manducans nec bibens. | Die quarto quasi de graui sompno euigilans ait. Tetigit me aliquis. | *fo. 52b.* Videbatur enim quod perfusus esset aqua beati Wlstani. Et erectus stetit, adhuc tamen quasi in extasi. Ne dixerit aliquis, quod non accurrerint prestolantes euentum rei; immo pusilli et magni. Pretendit faciem omnibus iam nociuo humore exhaustam, disperierunt a facie pustule; albor a cute, tumor a carne; et crustule que in collo siue tibiis resederant, quasi squame collapse ad tactum manus ceciderunt. Ita erant qui preerant curiosi exploratores; quod nec pedes etiam intactos reliquerunt. Videntes itaque cum lepra etiam euanuisse uestigium, quo maior stupor; eo uehementior intonuit uox ad laudem, quod in Rama audita est id est in excelsis; ad gloriam sancti, ad gratiam saluatoris.

Jeremiah
xxxi. 15.

De ydropico a transmarinis partibus ueniente curato.

11. Cum autem iam fama miraculorum sancti uiri celebrior exteras nationes peragrasset; de Normannia oriundus uenit uir quidam uehementi uentris tumore laborans, tumore diffuso ad membra inferiora; nec equitare, nec pedes incedere preualebat. Descendens itaque equo quo uehebatur, in ipso descensu; pre

acumine doloris mente excessit, et factus quasi in extasi quieuit. Cumque sic aliquantulum quiesceret; uidebatur ei uidere pontifices duos quorum nomina didicit Oswaldum uidelicet et Wlstanum, quorum aspectu gratulabundus euigilans; tumorem corporis plene resedissee, et se sanissimum reperit; miraculum sibi, ceteris memoriale spectaculum et stupendum.

De paralitico per sancti Wlstanī merita curato.

[fo, 52.

12. Uenerat uir quidam non ignote urbis Herefordie uidelicet municeps, et conciuēs cum eo compacientes languido; qui per tres annos et dimidium toto corpore paralyticus lecto decubuerat. Lectica aduectus cum deponeretur in atrio ecclesie; natura uegetior, nerui rigidiores apparuerunt. Baiulantium manibus delatus ad tumbam; et quasi a manu quadam benedictione accepta conualuit, et incolumis remeauit ad propria.

De muliere insana per sanctum Wlstanum curata.

13. Mulier quedam extra se rapta spiritu non suo, Wigorniam uincta peruenit. Soluta ut ad tumulum sancti properaret; clamans, se ipsam discerpens, aperto ore discurrens; maniacam se omnibus exhibuit in stuporem. Nichil in eius occurso tutum, et si quem forte arriperet¹; a manibus difficilis, ab ore difficillima erat ereptio. Oculi scintillantes, uigilie sic continue; quod per septimanam integram nec ad momentum palpebris dederit dormitationem. Arctata uinculis, afflicta flagellis; corpus quidem a motu, set mens a spiritu maligno reprimi non potuit. Nunc huc nunc illuc ferebatur; tam horribilis erat eius clamor et blasphemia, auribus uniuersorum. Dicebatur a quibusdam conditionem eius factam deteriore; ex quo accessit ad sanctum, magisque ibi fatigatam a demone; ubi sperabatur efficacius remedium contra inimicum. Set in oculis dei ubi abyssus multa; non est rationem querere. In porcos enim permisit legionem demonum ire. Habens et quidam in euangelio spiritum immundum cum oblatu esset Iesu ad medelam; statim spiritus turbauit eum, ita quod elisus in terram uolutabatur spumans; nec ad preceptum Iesu nisi clamans et eum multum discerpens exiuit. Querentibus discipulis quare eum eicere non poterat; respondit Iesus. Hoc genus non eicitur² nisi in oratione et ieiunio. Si ergo permittitur malignus seuire in hominem ut in pecus suum; iudicio fit hoc diuino, nunc occulto; nunc manifesto, semper autem iusto. In omnibus tamen remedium inuenire est;

St. Matt.
xvii, 19, 20.

¹ MS. altered from "arriperit."

² Sic MS. for "eicitur."

orationibus sanctorum. Unde et hec fatigata sic multo tempore ; meritis sancti uiri et precibus confluentium, furorem malignum deposuit ; dilucida interualla recepit, resumpto spiritu proprio sanissima ; non amplius agitanda spiritu alieno.

De iuvene insano.

14. Iuuenis quidam ritu gentis inter amicos potantes, et ipse potans ; ex ipso potu male potens, tanquam crapulatus a uino ; [fo. 52b.] insanire cepit. Versa est cýthara in luctum, et potus in amaritudinem. Capitur iuuenis ille, uinctus in lectulum deponitur ; set non erat pausam facere, quia nondum digerebatur uinum quo maduit. Nec mora et obmutuit ; retracta lingua in imo gutturis. Incitabant eum qui aderant ut loqueretur, non erat uox neque sensus. Allatus est ad tumultum beati uiri, uolutabatur spumans ; dentibus stridens, se ipsum manibus dissecans ; quasi in ultionem ebrietatis preterite. Miserabiliter afflictus ita tandem quieuit. Et ecce apparuit ei beatus Wlstanus ; et cum infima parte baculi pastoralis brachium unum et post alterum pupugit, percussit ; dicens. Ut quid hoc frater ut quid ? Expergefactus ille exclamauit omnibus audientibus, miserere beate Wlstande miserere ; non hoc amplius faciam. Intuensque manicas suas ut mos iuuenum erat filis sericis consutas ; in eas punctionum baculi quas dormiens senserat culpam retorsit, easque propriis manibus dirupit et abiecit ; et ita sanitatem recepit et loquelam.

De figulo arepto a demonio.

15. Figulus quidam laborans in sabulo ad ollarum compositionem, arreptus a spiritu maligno ; amens effectus est. Fortiter astrictus loris Wigorniam delatus est. Ubi cum ligamina eius soluerentur ; abiecit uestes, nudus per ecclesiam discurrens ; clamore horribili, rictu oris patulo et deformi ; intuentibus ultra modum abhominabilem se exhibuit. Nulla requies ei a clamore, tantoque ferebatur robore corporis ; ut si quem apprehenderet non erat unius set nec duorum hominum facilis de manibus eius ereptio. Cum autem uinctus poneretur seorsum, ad parietem uel ad saxum si prope esset tanto impetu dorsum, scapulas, et caput confricabat ; quod in cute nichil integrum erat uidere, in capite nichil sanum. Vox horroris ei ut diximus, et clamor terribilis ; nec minis nec etiam flagellis cohiberi potuit. Virge posite erant, ut a quocumque transeunte ; lacerum corpus etiam flagris affligeretur. Ille stridens dentibus ; expuebat in eos. Ita miserrimus hominum nec in [fo. 53.]

uinculis nec a uinculis liber interuallum furoris nec ad momentum fere diebus quindecim habere potuit. Tandem mater illa miserorum, fidelium scilicet ecclesia; uulnerata caritate precibus institit pro eo, quia non supererat refugium aliud. Et latus illud gloriosum lancea perforatum; in misericordia uberi aperuit ad fluxum, et miserum hunc ad tumultum beati Wlstanii delatum; ex insperato respexit gratia dei desuper inmisit soporem et prolixum; et in sopore accepta benedictione a sancto, expectatus que aliena in eo fuerant; non habuit propria, etsi alienata integre resumpsit. Flens et eiulans iam in spiritu suo et ualde contrito, accessit ad altare sanissimus; gratias agens.

De muliere ceca per sanctum Wlstanum curata.

[May 1st.]

16. Aduenerat uenerabilis festus dies apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi, et mulier quedam non timuit die illo ab opere non uacare, Studiosae itaque consensu aliquid sine quo forte poterat cena duci, sicut dignitati diei non detulit; nec oculis eius deus pepercit. Oboriuntur punctiones in oculis grauissime, caligauerunt oculi; et residuum diei feriatum habuit etsi nolens, facta infra triduum omnino non uidens. Adduxit eam uir suus Wigorniam; spem habens in domino et in sancto suo, ad tumultum posuit eam; ubi quasi extra se facta manus ad consuendum mouit, et ad cetera opera que fecerat die sancto apostolorum. Representans ergo sibi in penam, iniuriam quam sanctis fecerat; aderat ei in uisu qui inproperabat quod in die sancto presumpserat. At illa gemens et clamans ad ueniam; obuium habuit quendam qui consolabatur afflictam, aqua eam ut sibi uidebatur perfudit; oculos et uultum lauit, et expergefata clarissime uidit.

De puero qui uenenum sumpserat.

[fo. 53b.]

17. Quidam prouecte etatis uir et ad opinionem integri fructus homo, de desponsata sibi uxore unicum genuerat filium; baculum senectutis | sue et heredem futurorum bonorum suorum. Cuius matre diem suum functa, aliam lege maritali pater sibi sociauit uxorem. Cumque illa pluribus annis cum uiro sterilis uixisset, inuidie cepit felle | tabescere; odioque nouercali armans se in priuignum, ab eo sue infegunditatis exegit penas; quas non meruerat. Et die quadam cum panem ei more solito porrigeret ad prandendum; occulte supposuit et uenenum. Quod cum gustasset; spirituality prius, deinde nutritiua cita diffusionem sic occupauit; quod corpus tabidum, tumidum, corporeis sensibus omnino priuaretur. Nec

ab oculis uisum, nec ab ore uerbum; nec a toto corpore erat motum uidere. Quod cum pater eius agnouisset; uehementer indoluit, uidens filium morientem; nec erat remedium inuenire. Tandem cum fletu magno patris et amicorum; scopis mundata area in medio ponitur iuuenis, quasi cum fine diei; uitam finiret et ipse. Venit interim quidam ad hostium quasi mendicus; audiuit clamorem preualidum, intrauit causam non querens; quia inpromptu erat. Qui constanti animo dixit patri pueri. Dum adhuc superest alitus in eo; plicate pro eo denarium ad sanctum Wlstanum de Wigornia, et collo eius in pignus uotue subiectionis suspendite; et sanabitur puer iste. Excipiunt illi uerbum de ore eius, et cum magna fidei deuocione complicatur nummus; et ad collum egrotantis appenditur. Ilico infirmus qui ante supinus iacuit uertit se in latus, euomuit uirus nigerrimum; in quantitate non modica. Aperuit oculos, agnouit astantes; et ad petitionem eius adducto presbitero mundauit se per confessionem ab inquinamento carnis ac spiritus. Sicque per singulos dies per superiora se purgans; die tercio de lecto egritudinis surrexit, et preparatis in itinere necessariis; quantocius Wigorniam proficiscitur, redditurus uota domino que distinxerat labiis suis. Oblationem fecit, diligenti narratione exposuit quomodo magnificauerat dominus misericordiam suam cum eo; sed nec dulcedinem fame tacuit beati uiri, | cuius noua | fo. 54. conspersio non iam finitimas set et exteris nationes sic irrorauerat; quod pro nouitate signorum beati Wlstani ortus solis et occasus laudent nomen domini.

De iuvene puncto ab aranea per sancti Wlstani merita sanato.

18. Sacerdos quidam sciolus sibi, habundans in sensu suo; non erat sicut ceteri hominum. Miraculis que fiebant in ecclesia Wigornie fidem non habuit, quasi diceret. Qui cito credit leuis est corde. Huius seruiens in agrum egressus ut herbam colligeret, fasciculo humeri imposito cum domum properasset ab aranea in collo punctus; uehementer collum doluit, et uirus infusum; cum collo scapulas in breui occupauit. Accurrens sacerdos; iussit ut rutam masticaret, biberet; et puncture superponeret. Set in hiis non est expertum aliquid profuisse. Tandem persuasum est presbitero ut denarium plicatum in uotum dedicationis beato Wlstanō collo suspenderet; et quamcuius contorqueretur candela ad mensuram egrotantis, et cum eo Wigorniam mitteretur. Set quia pessimus in dubiis augur timor; uerens sacerdos ne in uia deficeret, moram nectit; et uirus serpens infecerat iam pectus, immo et

totum corpus ; set et cutis tocius corporis segregata a carne ; quasi cornu lucidum lucida apparebat. Defertur in ecclesiam, et preceptis sacramentis ecclesie sensuum debilitas oborta ; mortem in ianuis nunciabat. Cumque sepius nomen beati Wlstani repeteret, et ut sui miseretur cum lacrimis oraret ; accurrens quidam attulit aquam beati Wlstani, et ei in potum dedit ; lauit collum, pectus, et brachia, totumque corpus ; et quod dictu mirabile delatus extra ecclesiam ; eadem hora euomuit, et quod intus depascebat miseros artus ; et quod intercutaneum uirus irrepserat, eodem meatu potenter eiecit. Detumuit corpus ; cutis resedit, et ad egressum diei ; egressum est pariter quicquid dolebat languidus. Mane autem facto uenit sacerdos Wigorniam | cum seruiante suo, pluresque cum eo ; fidei narratione referentes omnia ut prelibauimus. Sacerdos autem qui extiterat palpans in nocte, non sicut qui in meridie ; duriciam cordis non exactus, correctum ire promisit ; uolens deinceps cum ceteris uidere in lumine, abiectis tenebris gaudia lucis.

fo. 54b.

De iuvene muto a natiuitate qui loquelam per sanctum Wlstanum recepit.

[Essex.]

19. Vir quidam de Estsexa homo frugi ut dicebatur Wigorniam uenerat ut oraret. Cumque ante tumultum sancti orans staret irruente turba eumque comprimente ; accedens cesor quidam loculorum manu furtiua de presciso eius marsupio sexdecim solidos asportauit. Quod cum aduertisset, ostendit hiis qui prope erant quod acciderat ; deinde ceteris, tandem clamore ualido innotuit uniuersis. Set et episcopum non latuit. Qui dampnum perpeso ; recompensari fecit, ducens bonum pro parte etsi non in solidum subuenisse. Stabat ibi uir quidam magnus qui ex obliquo et unde non putabatur uulnus intulit. Et ipse de maioribus Anglie. Dixitque episcopo. Ecce sanctus tuus quam eleganter suos predone tuetur ab omni, qui in ultionem tante iniurie non assurgit ? Eratque uerbum hoc spiritus potestatem habentis, quo excauantur petre ut inhabitet coluber in foraminibus earum. Poterat enim ad hanc insultantis uocem deuotio multorum residere, et in sancto minoris haberi ; quod pluris esset habendum, si pateretur coluber tortuosus. Idem ipse de quo nobis sermo est, potens satis, diues nimis ; pastorem habuit armentarium, carum sibi et utilem ; set a natiuitate mutum. Et iam incipiebat esse quasi annorum uiginti quatuor. Audiens iste quod potenti uirtute beati Wlstani muti loquerentur ; accessit ad tumultum ; profundoque sopore quasi fatigatus ex itinere ob | dormiuit. Cum itaque totam noctem in sopore continuasset ;

fo. 55.

facto iam mane euigilans, exclamauit sancta Maria miserere. Quod cum ter dixisset subiunxit alta uoce ; sancte Wlstane miserere. Stupefacti astantes ; causam clamoris querunt. At ille. Apparuit michi uir quidam uenerabilis ; indumentis pontificalibus amictus, et labia mea quasi manu tergens ; dixit, loquere. Quod cum iterato fecisset, expergefactus sic clamaui ; loquens qui mutus fueram, ad gratiam matris domini ; et famuli eius Wlstani. Cumque ad patrios lares concito gressu properaret, obuium habuit dominum suum de quo supra meminimus ; eumque salutauit. Ad cuius loquelam obstupuit ille ; inquiens. Tu ne es ille seruiens meus mutus a natiuitate ? Et ille. Ego sum. Et dominus eius. Quomodo ergo loqueris ? At ille. Audiui quod muti loquerentur ad tumbam beati presulis Wlstani ; accessi, obdormiui ; in sompnis sanctum uirum uidi, tetigit os meum ; ut loquerer precepit, euigilans loquelam recepi. Admirans dominus uehementer, humiliori iam tactus spiritu ; reduxit puerum ad episcopum, quid puero accidisset retulit. Ad hec subridens episcopus ait. Improperasti mihi sanctum meum numquid et saltem amodo tuus erit ? Ad quod ille supplici uoce respondit. Reuera et dominus et sanctus meus erit deinceps.

De iuvene qui morbo caduco laborabat qui etiam cecus erat, et de muliere a graui morbo curata.

20. Diues quidam Walensis cum plurimam prolem suscepisset a coniuge ; filium habuit unum quem duplex incommodum sicut sibi et suis fecit inutilem et tediosum, ita quoque fecerat uilem et honerosum. Nam preter morbum quem uocant caducum, qui eum ab ineunte etate affixerat ; a nouem quoque annis lumen oculorum amiserat, unde inter suos factus est sicut homo sine adiutorio. Erat in eadem uilla | quedam tenuis substantie mulier, | fo. 55b. habens filiam a multis annis inualidam. Cuius interiora cum quasi quodam uiuo roderentur ; nec cibaria admittebat ad nutrimentum, nec sompnum ad requiem. Videbantur ei etiam intestina quasi terebello perforari ; unde continuus dolor colorem a facie, calorem a corpore ; sermonem fere eliminauerat ab ore. Hiis mota mater uisceribus matris, eam assumpto secum in comitatu filio predicti diuitis ; Wigorniam perduxit. In ueniendo autem caducus morbus in puero sic defecit a casu ; quod in tumultu populorum in ecclesia ubi maxime comitalis morbus infestare solet, nec motus aliquis ; nec signum uideretur in eo. Set et clarissime uisum recepit. Filia uero iam dicte mulieris fere per

quindecim dies agitabatur dolore uehementi, uolubatur spumans; a multis desperata. Hausit tandem aquam beati Wlstani, et medicalem potum; matura sanitas subsecuta est. Egressa ecclesiam diuersi coloris et quantitatis uermes euomuit; totaque simul prurulenta sanie ore tenus stillabat, quod horror erat cernere; intollerabile olfactu sentire. A nociuo tandem onere exinanita; rediit ad tumulum sancti cum matre et puero, gratias agentes deo; qui pauperes suos non despicit, et qui sperantes in se; tam potenti uirtute respexit.

De muliere insana per sanctum Wlstanum curata.

† fo. 56.

21. Erat Wigornie matrona quedam que in liniamentis corporis extitit commendabilis, in dotibus animi magis; uicinis officiosa, pauperibus munifica. Hec cum quadam die post fleubotomiam ieiuno adhuc stomacho se sopori pene letifero dedisset; expergefacta, iam mente alienata; aliena loquebatur. Cibum oblatum ut comederet abiecit; uestes scidit, tandem abiectis uestimentis omnibus nuda exiuit; et in platea saliens et clamans in se omnium oculos mouit, incitauit mentes in stuporem; et tanto habita ludibrio, uix operta pallio poterat reduci. Hortabantur eam amici ut ad tumbam sancti Wlstani pergeret; renuit. Accesserunt tandem ad eam septem uiri fortissimi ut eam ferrent; et tulerunt. Venientes in ecclesiam ad gradus ascensorios ad tumulum; agitata spiritu maligno, tota conamine renitebatur; ut sursum ferri nequaquam preualeret. Descendentes ergo in criptam, ante altare apostolorum principis eam posuerunt. Ubi cum sese usque ad mediam noctem uarios retorqueret in orbes; plicato pro ea denario ad sanctum, colloque renitentis suspenso; statim quieuit et obdormiuit. Et post aliquam moram soporis euigilans; se erexit, ad tumulum sancti nemine ducente perrexit; et facta oratione denarium obtulit, sicque extincto furore fantastico incolumis remeauit ad propria.

De puella a diuersis infirmitatibus meritis sancti Wlstani curata.

22. Puella quedam habuit brachium a cubito deorsum cute liuidum; carne putridum, et sic inflatum; ut truncum putares non brachium. Habuit etiam in iunctura ubi sese manus et brachium mutuo connexu contingunt; foramen fluens ex fistula, aspectu horridum; eiusdem quoque manus duos digitos exteriores quos prudens adinuentio medicum et auricularem nominauit interius replicatos; et uole manus concreta carne et cute firmiter inherentes,

et hec a natiuitate sibi sic coaluerant. Accessit ista ad tumultum flens et eiulans, misericordiam postulans a deo et sancto suo; et non multo post exaudiuit eam deus, detumuit brachium; siccata est fistula, et digiti extenti. Digitus uero penultimus qui contra naturam breuior fuerat extremo; mirum dictu accrescente sibi carne in breui longior apparuit, ita ut nec eiusdem loci episcopum nec quemquam de astantibus sollicitè intuentem lateret; carnis | *fo. 56b.*
ad carnem adiectio.

De muto, et a uariis infirmitatibus curato.

23. Sacerdos quidam de Pinminstra cum clerico suo, rediens de [Pitminster,
Tantona, transiturus per nemus quod uasto sinu interiacet; cito co. Somer-
gressu ire properabant. Et quia silua protensior et inclinata iam set.]
dies noctis umbram induxerat; clericus pedibus sequi nitebatur, [Taunton,
set presbiterum equo preambulum; assequi non preualuit. Solus co. Somer-
ergo oberrans in nemore, et non sine pauore; audiuit a latere set.]
tumultum. Attonitus; maturabat fugam, sed quo magis fugiebat; instabat acrius quod horrebat. Nichilominus fuga sibi consulens; in horam memoris deuenit, ubi cum locus ei putabatur securior; apparuerunt ei mulieres tres; eumque comprehensum et afflictum, prostrauerunt humi. Nec mora disparuerunt semiuiuo relicto. Venit interim missus a sacerdote quidam iuuenis obuiam puero, uidensque eum prostratum et quasi seminecem; erexit, et quo potuit modo domum reuexit. Amiserat enim gressum, obriguerunt pedes; genua non flecti, nec tȳbie poterant protendi. Set et uerbum perdiderat in consonantibus, et quasi lingua adheresceret palato; omnino mutus apparuit. Parentes non modico motu doloris attriti; equo eum superpositum Wigorniam adduxerunt, ante tumultum sancti posuerunt; deprecantes dominum pro eo, ut meritis sancti sui; gratia saluatoris manifestaretur in languido. Ubi aliquandiu moram faciens, mirabili gestu corporis sui; fere totam urbem ascuerat in sui spectaculum. Nam sedens nunc ante, nunc retro iacens; motu resumptiuo corpus totum sic tremebundum exhibuit; quod per triduum et eo amplius nec una hora diei uel noctis, dilucidum esset ei interuallum quietis. Tandem aspirante ei gratia diuina; primo relaxatum | *fo. 57.*
in genibus, sicque in pedibus; deinde gressu restituto ambylabat, diuina manu nondum porrecta ad soluendum uinculum lingue. Gradiebatur itaque per uillam, nec multo post cum obdormisset in hospicio; audiuit uocem dicentem sibi. Cras cum audieris ad maius altare missam; perempte uocis officium in nomine sancti

Wlstani recipies. Ut diligens auditor in crastino ad ecclesiam accessit, missam audiuit; caput tumulo sancti applicuit, et in fine dominice orationis cum diceret conuentus *sed libera nos a malo*; respondit ille *amen*; et sequenter in nomine gloriosi Wlstani linguam aperuit, set nil preter Wlstanum nec sillabam unam proferre potuit. Delectatus iuuenis glorioso gloriosi nomine Wlstani; ipsum nominare non cessabat. Affuit pie uociferanti pius Wlstanus, et cum plena sanitate; plenam loquele contulit ei medicinam.

De puero qui officium unius pedis amiserat.

[1200-1212]

24. Prudenter literatorie astruitur, quod uiua uox loquitur; euidencia facti protestatur. Ibat forte per ecclesiam sicut suus mos est dompnus Malgerus Wigornensis episcopus, et prior eiusdem loci et quam plures cum eis; et inuenerunt a latere altaris puerum quendam qui ab utero matris sue officium unius pedis amiserat; eo suspenso per talum ad nates; carne et cute sibi inuicem continuato. Viderunt quomodo talus carni inheserat, et languido facto quasi in extasi; stabant prestolantes gratiam dei affuturam. Et ecce manus domini coram eis. Audierunt nervos extendi, tybiam in propriam formam protendi; et mora aliquantula interiecta plene uidere curatum. Quem assumentes ante altare adduxerunt, et pro eo deo et sancto suo laudes debitas persoluerunt.

De puero muto.

[fo. 57b.]

25. Puer quidam annorum ferme decem, qui mutus | fuerat a natiuitate; Wigorniam adductus est. Hic non solum loquelam, set nec linguam qua loqueretur habebat. Cum itaque ad tumultum sancti Wlstani pernoctaret paululum; ibidem obdormiuit. Et ecce subito utraque manu in quendam qui prope assedit iniecta, uoce magna clamauit et dixit, O sancta Maria. Interrogatus autem quid sic clamasset; dixit se per sompnum uidisse sanctam Mariam sibi astitisse, et linguam de ore suo utraque manu protraxisse; seque illam iniecta manu apprehendere putabat. Et ex illa hora et dinceps; lingua ei data est et loquela.

De muto et de quodam qui officium pedis amiserat.

[Warwick.]

26. Alter quidam in uilla que Warewica dicitur casu de domo sua exierat in ortum, et cum iterum introisset in domum; obmutuit. Cumque annis circiter quinque mutus permansisset, eadem die qua et alter mutus curatus est Wigorniam uenit; et ad tumultum sancti

Wlstani diu desideratam recepit loquelam. Tercius quoque gaudium nostrum eadem die continuauit; qui poplite contracto et tibia cum pede dextro supra modum inflata, terram pede illo penitus attingere non potuit; sed pede suspenso baculo se pro pede sustentabat. Cumque ad tumulum sancti accessisset, sensit sibi quasi neruos in poplite crescere et extendi. Pede itaque ad terram demisso, et omni languore et tumore fugato; sanissimus effectus est.

De muto, et puero cyatico per sancti Wlstani merita; curatis.

27. Puer quidam de Bergeueni dum pasceret pecora in agro; casu obdormiuit. Expergefactus autem et circumspiciens; omnia pecora sua amiserat, ita ut nullum eorum a die illa a quoquam sit inuentum. Ipse uero statim obmutuit. Cumque annis circiter quinque mutus existeret. Wigorniam adductus coram tumulo paululum obdormiuit; et euigilans lingue recepit officium. Alius puer ciaticus ab infantia uidit quendam in sompnis dicentem sibi. Vade Wigorniam; et ibidem curaberis. Uenit itaque coram tumulo sancti Wlstani obdormiuit, ibique per sompnum uidit sanctum Wlstanum sibi benedictionem dare; et euigilans statim sanissimus factus est. [Abergavenny, co. Monmouth.] fo. 58.

De muliere ceca, et alia uariis languoribus curata.

28. Mulier quedam de ultimis finibus Wallie duplici laborabat incomodo. Continuo enim capitis dolore torquebatur, oculisque paulatim caligantibus; ad extremam demum peruenit cecitatem. Erat siquidem tenuis substantie, et id modicum quod uidebatur habere; decrescens cotidie. Quippe inutilis facta ad laborem, que quod maximum est in corpore penitus amiserat. Mansit itaque contabescens in domo sua multis diebus, et sibi cum sua defecissent; alienis stipendiis sustentata. Fama igitur miraculorum sancti Wlstani longe lateque diffusa; etiam illam non latebat. Fit anxia mulier sancti memoriam uisitare, set id quidem rei familiaris inopia non permisit. Veruntamen quod habuit hoc fecit. Corde sepius sanctum uisitabat; quem corpore non ualebat, uictimas offerens lacrimarum; cui deerat copia pecuniarum. Contigit autem ut quidam conuicanei sui ad sanctum properarent Wlstanum. Cum quibus et ipsa quod multum diuque desiderauerat; ducatu perrexit alieno. Ubi se coram tumulo cum lacrimis in orationem prostrauit; et oratione completa lacrimas simul et cecitatem ab

[Cantref
Mawr, Car-
marthen.]

[fo. 58b.]

oculis abstersit, eodemque momento omnem capitis dolorem mitigari et sensit; et confessa est. Alteram quoque de Cantermaur fluxus uentris quem phisici dissenteriam uocant tempore multo consumpserat, cui et apostema sub pectore instar lapidis induratum excreuerat; plurimum languentis | dolorem accumulans. Hec ubi se in orationem dedisset et ab oratione surrexisset; nauseam passa ecclesiam egressa est. Vix limen exierat; cum saniem et sanguinem cum fetore multo euomuit. A die ergo illa et deinceps, et fluxus uentris stetit; et in apostemate dolor pariter et tumor omnis euauit.

De muliere surda, et alia graui morbo per sanctum dei curatis.

[Shrews-
bury.]

29. Quedam mulier de Salopesburia continuo capitis dolore laborans; extremam surditatem incurrit. Cumque multis annis dupplici fatigaretur incomodo; ueniens Wigorniam ante tumulum sancti Wlstani obdormiuit, ibique uidit in sompnis quasi lapidem grandem et onerosum capiti suo superpositum; quem multo conamine nitebatur amouere sed non potuit. Cumque diutius sub mole illa gemeret, et multos conatus euacuaret; astitit ei sanctus Wlstanus in habitu pontificali, cum alia quadam persona reuerendi uultus et grauitatis eximie. Qui dixit ad sanctum Wlstanum. Quam benefaceret qui miseram mulierem istam adiuuaret. Diu est quod circa lapidem istum amouendum frustra laborauit. Cui sanctus Wlstanus ait. Ego adiuuabo. Et inclinans se; de capite mulieris lapidem amouit. Statimque mulier euigilans; et doloris remedium recepit et auditum. Aliam mulierem de Cluna multis diebus ficus exeserat, et iam fere consumpserat. Que cum tribus noctibus coram tumulum sancti Wlstani peruigil moraretur; nauseam passa ut nature satisfaceret ecclesiam egressa est. Statimque uermem unum cum capite rubeo et rostro acuto pedibusque multis longitudine trium fere unciarum euomuit. Ab illo ergo die et uultui color accessit; et dolor omnis abscessit.

[Clun, co.
Shropshire.]

De epylentico iuueni et ceco curato.

[Clun, co.
Shropshire.]
[fo. 59.]

30. Iuuenis quidam de Cluna epilensie morbo miserabiliter torquebatur. Quinques enim uel | quater per diem elidebatur in terram. Inter successus numerabat; si semel in die corruisset. Hic casu dum equum custodiret, obdormiuit in agro. Vidit autem in sompnis quasi demones cum cruciatu multo sibi oculos eruere. Et expergefactus; exiliit, nimio timore perterritus; apertisque oculis nichil uidebat. Annis itaque nouem et mensibus duobus sub hac

miseria miseram actitabat uitam, non minus sibi quam parentibus et amicis onerosus. Denique audito sanctum Wlstanum tot coruscare miraculis; totus suspensus in eum, crebris singultibus et uoce lacrimabili postulabat; ut uel uite uel miserie sue terminum imponeret. Tedebat enim illum uite sue, upote qui dupplici laborabat incommodo; quorum nec unum quidem sine miseria sustineret. Extorsit autem a parentibus ut eum Wigorniam adducerent. Ubi cum coram tumultu sancti Wlstani fletibus et singultibus saciatus obdormisset; apparuit ei sanctus Wlstanus pontificalibus indutus, et uirga pastoralis candelam super tumbam ipsius ardentem demonstrans; dixit ei. Surge puer exalta candelam. Casu uero tunc candela que super tumbam ardebat usque ad ferrum cui affigebatur consumpta erat. Surgens itaque puer et perspicue uidit; et iuxta preceptum sancti candelam erexit. Et qui Wigorniam uenerat epilepticus et cecus; ad propria rediit ab utroque incommodo liberatus.

De peregrino sancti Wlstani carceri et vinculis mancipato ab eodem liberato.

31. Quidam homo de Bergeueni diu desiderauerat sanctum uisitare Wlstanum, sed inimicie oborte inter patriam illam et castellum illud quod dicitur Grandimontanum; hoc impederat. Quicumque enim de partibus unius terre in partibus alterius inueniretur; statim uel capite truncaretur, uel in carcerem mitteretur. Hic igitur cum nisi per partes illas transiturus Wigorniam uenire non posset; tandem uictus amore sancti Wlstani, et de sanctitate et patrocinio illius confisus; latenter apud Wigorniam iter arripuit. Et cum iter faceret; contigit ut incideret in illos qui terminos et transitus obseruabant, qui statim capud eius amputare parabant. Ille uero clamitabat pacem dei et sancti Wlstani, cuius se peregrinum esse dicebat. Erant autem inter illos qui sanctum Wlstanum multum diligebant, quorum consilio et suggestionem miser ille ad castellum usque deductus est; ut pro amore sancti Wlstani etsi non euaderet, saltem mortem differret. Detrusus itaque in compedes et cathenas, crebris gemitibus et lamentis sancto Wlstano mortem suam improperabat. Eadem uero nocte cum in carcere uinctus obdormisset; quidam apparuit ei dicens. Surge perge quo incepisti. Cui cum dixisset quomodo, pergam, qui sic ligno et ferro sum oppressus; ille per capillos caput eius fortiter excutens dixit. Tibi dico surge; perge quo incepisti. At ille quasi manum hominis

[Aber-
gavenny.]
[Grosmont.]
| fo. 59b.

| fo. 60.

sentiens expergefactus est ; non minus de uisione gaudis quam de sancto Wlstanio confusus. Pedem itaque dextrum ad se conuertens a compede simul et cathenis absolutum inuenit, et spem habens alterius ; et ipsum quoque retraxit, liberum quidem a compede sed cathenas in eo pendentes inuenit ; quas tibie sue fortiter astrinxit et colligauit. Surgens ergo signo crucis armauit se ; et sanctum Wlstanum sine uoce set non sine deuotione iugiter inuocans silenter carcerem apertum egressus est. Et quia ad portas diuertere timebat ; murum ascendit aliunde. Ubi diutius palrans et locum querens quo se proiceret oportunius ; offendit unum uigilum, qui casu uel potius diuino nutu super murum sedens obdormiuit. Cui cum dixisset quis es tu ? et iterum obdormisset, perterritus ille potius elegit manibus dei et sancti Wlstani se committere ; quam inter manus inimicorum deperire. Statimque dimisit se per murum, et absque omni molestia ad terram usque deuectus est. Surgensque illesus fossam et custodias aliquot pertransiens cum neminem resistentem uel contradicentem reperisset ; ad proximam ecclesiam declinauit, ibique cathenas quia ponderose erant et graues ad ferendum in testimonium euasionis dimisit ; et apud sanctum Wlstanum properauit. Veniensque Wigorniam rei seriem nobis indicauit, deo et sancto Wlstano de tanti periculi euasione gratias agens. Fama igitur celebris facta est in partibus illis, quomodo sanctus Wlstanus hominem illum eduxit de carcere ; ita quod constabularius eiusdem castelli et alii multi de patria illa uenerunt Wigorniam dicentes, quod ob hoc maxime miraculum ; sanctum uenerunt uenerari Wlstanum.

De quodam sacerdote paralitico per sanctum dei curato.

[Melksham,
co. Wilts.]

32. Sacerdotis de Melchesham medietatem corporis sui cum quadam die diuina celebraret paralis percussit et dissoluit. Annis itaque quasi tribus ab altaris suspensus officio ; sanctorum limina per Angliam circuibat, semiuiuum circumferens cadauer ; et a sanctis sanitatem mendicans. Contigit autem ut inter alios sanctum etiam uisitaret Wlstanum. Ubi cum se in orationem deflisset ; sensit sibi paulatim neruos calefieri, compages et articulos roborari ; totumque corpus in quandam agilitatis gratiam renouari. Surgens itaque et sanum se reperiens ; deo et sancto Wlstano gratias egit. Cuius sanitati testimonium perhibuit totus Wigornensis ecclesie conuentus, qui presbiterum ipsum eadem die qua curatus est ; ad mensam secum in refectorio caritatie suscepit.

De quodam cyatico per sancti Wlstani merita curato.

33. Quidam homo de Stoka iuxta Wich que est uilla monachorum Wigornie, casu fortuito ciaticus factus est; eumque morbus inualescens post dies aliquot omnimodo priuauit incessu. In reda igitur Wigorniam allatus est; ubi tribus ebdomadibus continuis gratiam mendicabat gradiendi a sancto, set nichil | remedii meruit impetrare. Erat autem homo ille de huiusmodi cantoribus, qui publicos choros ducunt in plateis; et hanc leuitatem annis multis exercuerat. Quadam igitur die cum se iuxta parietem proiecisset ne conculcaretur a transeuntibus, erat enim in ecclesia multitudo magna languentium expectantium misericordiam dei et sancti Wlstani preter alios qui causa orationis confluebant; morarum pertesus inter uerba orationis intulit et hec. Domine mi sancte Wlstane, nonne ego seruus tuus natiuus sum; natus et nutritus in terra ecclesie tue? Quid est quod sic me contempnis? Extraneos et ignotos cotidie me uidente curas, et me peculiarem seruum tuum respicere non dignaris? Utique si tantum dilexisses tuos, quantum te diligunt tui; non sic me dimisisses. Cumque hec et hiis similia sancto uelut obiurgans inculcasset; tandem resolutus in sompnium uidit sanctum Wlstanum a dextris sibi stantem, et quasi subridentem et dicentem sibi. Surge, surge, non hic eris amplius. At ille inclinans se quasi gratias acturus expergefactus est. Sentiensque uirtutem dei cum erexisset se; nichil mali senciebat. Cucurrit itaque cum gaudio magno ad tumulum sancti Wlstani; ibique duos baculos quibus sustentari consueuerat, in signum obtulit sanitatis.

[Stoke Prior,
nr. Droit-
wich, co.
Worc.]

[fo. 60b.]

De oculo mulieri meritis sancti Wlstani restituto.

34. Oculo cuiusdam puelle de Gloucestria cum esset annorum ferme trium, casu mater eius buccellam iniecit; et uisu priuauit. Annis itaque decem et octo sub unius oculi regimine contemptibilem castam tamen ut dicebatur agebat uitam. Quadam autem nocte apparuit ei in sompnis sancta Maria dicens. Vade Wigorniam, et ora ibi sanctum Wlstanum ut oculum tibi restituat; et uisum recipies. Quod cum | matri sue et fratribus retulisset; illudebant ei dicentes. Sicut concupisti; ita sompniasti. Numquid minor est uirtus beati Petri in Glocectria,¹ quam sancti Wlstani in Wigornia? Ecce tot annis ad ecclesiam sancti Petri cotidie perrexisti; et semper in eodem statu permanes. Filia sede in domo

[fo. 6r.]

¹ The abbey church at Gloucester was dedicated to St. Peter.

tua, si deus tibi sanitatem preuidit; non est qui auferat. Sin autem; non est qui conferat. Hec et hiis similia parentes insultando proponebant, et de salute eius desperantes; et ad desperationem eam inuitantes. Illa uero rem tacita considerabat, nichil hesitans in corde suo; quin omnia possibilia sint credenti. Aliis siquidem renitentibus et illudentibus; ipsa Wigorniam ire perrexit. Ueniensque ad tumulum sancti Wlstani; totam noctem in precibus continuauit. Mane uero facto; mane nouum reperit, mane quod ueteres tenebras effugauit; et amissi luminis noua gaudia reparauit. Euigilans enim post soporem, utroque oculo perspicue uidit; et id nobis signis manifestis indicauit. Veruntamen in oculo lesure uestigium non plene disparuit.

De muliere a morbo fistule per sanctum Wlstanum curata.

35. Mulierem quandam de Wallia fistule morbus grauiter exhauserat. Sex uel septem foraminibus continue defluens; quorum aliquod tante fuerat amplitudinis ut patulo hiatu trium digitorum latitudinem excederet. Uenit itaque miseranda mulier Wigorniam sanctum uisitatura Wlstanum; et eius super infirmitate sua postulatura suffragium. Tribus igitur diebus cum totidem noctibus dei misericordia ibidem expectata; tertia quidem die fluxus foraminum stetit, post decem uero dies omnia foramina clausa simul et siccata nobis ostendit. Et que aliorum uehiculo ibi fuerat allata; et propriis pedibus ad sua est reuersa. Per omnia benedictus deus; qui in sanctis suis semper est mirabilis et gloriosus in secula seculorum amen.

| fo. 62b.

[Bromyard,
co. Here-
ford.]

| *De iuvene epileptico per sanctum curato.*

36. Iuuenis quidam de Bromyarda a puericia epilepticus fuerat. Qui ueniens Wigorniam; in ebdomada Pasche coram tumulo sancti patris nostri Wlstani obdormiuit. Expergefactus autem totum corpus suum in quandam agilitatis gratiam renouari sensit; et plene se curatum fuisse confessus est. Nos uero de eius salute minus certi, eo quod huiusmodi passionem per interualla temporum recurrant; diximus ei ut ad propria remearet, et post duos menses uel tres ad nos rediret; et statum sue infirmitatis nobis indicaret. Qui post quatuor fere menses ueniens ad nos; interposito sacramento firmiter asseruit, quod a die quo primum discesserat a nobis; nullum signum in se predictae passionis meritis et intercessionibus sanctissimi confessoris Wlstaniprehendit.

De muliere ydropica, et iuvene ciatico et multis aliis.

37. Mulier quedam ydropica de Winchelcumba, uentrem adeo [Winch-
turgidum habuerat; ut horrori esset intuentibus. Hec audita combe,
fama sanctissimi patris nostri Wlstani; Wigorniam uenit. Cumque co. Glouc.]
hec ad tumulum sancti Wlstani pernoctasset; tantum putredinis
euomuit, ut astantes fetorem sustinere non possent. Set mox tumore
sedato, ab omni egritudine curata est. Iuuenis quidam quasi
annorum triginta, qui in puericia ludendo ciaticus factus est;
eadem die curatus est. Homo quidam de Radenoura qui annis [New
duodecim surdus fuerat; eadem die curatus est. Puella etiam Radnor.]
que fistulam habebat in collo patulam et horridam, et puer quidam
qui tres fistulas habebat in collo; sanati sunt. Plures alii de
febribus, de dolore capitis; de dolore uiscerum, de diuersis
passionibus curati sunt. Non enim de omnibus scire potuimus,
quia tanta erat multitudo; ut non solum ecclesia et atrium ecclesie,
set etiam testudines implerentur. Quis non stupeat, quis non
miretur? Deficimus auditu, hebesimus cogitatu; etq̃ uia | audi-
tum domini audiuius, et opera eius considerauimus; ultra iam | fo. 6a.
nobis non est spiritus. Hec tua sunt humilis Christe opera, hec
tua inestimabilia magnalia; que etsi incircumcisi labiis non pos-
sumus digne protestari, liceat saltem tui Wlstani precibus humiliter
et digna cum reuerentia admirari. Quid uero est quod propter
noua miracula usitato uocabulo eum appellare solent sanctum nouum?
Quod enim ex antiqua in eo consenuit pietate, cotidie non desinit
innouare clementi bonitate; ut dictum de illo putetur quia Job xxxi,
mecum creuit miseratio; et mecum egressa est ex utero matris 18.
mee. Peccare autem me estimem; si huius preclare nouitatis
qua nos ompnes deus inebriauit, calicem adhuc sicientibus uobis
non misceo; quatinus et attentos uos uideo, nec quicquam iocundius
quam de sanctissimo patre et pastore nostro Wlstano loqui; ad
cuius miraculorum enumerandam multitudinem, etsi Tulliani
eloquii adessent fluentia sicarentur; dulce tamen erit de plena
copia quedam degustare, quia memoria iusti in benedictione.

De puero mortuo meritis sanctissimi Wlstani resuscitato.

38. Oportet fratres karissimi nostram imbecillitatem pro possi-
bilitate sua dei magnalia collaudare, et in sanctis suis in quibus
uehementer glorificatur; deum mirabiliter predicare. Si enim eius
uirtutem et gloriam in eiusdem seruis suis per eos mirabilia operan-
tem diligenter consideremus; ab aliis uacantes negotiis ad collau-

[fo. 62b.
[Kington,
co. Worc.]

dandam dei omnipotentiam, corde pariter et corpore accedemus. Rem igitur presentibus necessariam, posteris etiam non parum profuturam refero; quoniam quidam ex nouitate rerum nouiter accidentium, plerumque solet fides credentium confirmari; et infidelium ignorantia fidei lampade illuminari. Dignum etiam credimus memorabile illud atque euidens miraculum referre; quod multis cernentibus in uilla que uocatur Kinctona monachorum | Wigornie, per inuocationem sanctissimi confessoris sui Wlstani; ab omnipotente deo dinoscitur fuisse patratum. Puer quidam in cunis miserabiliter se torquebat et discerpebat. Matre uero astante et flente eo quod puerum consolari non posset; tandem puer post labores et angustias magnas obticuit. Credente uero matre quod iam obdormisset; silenter accessit ad eum, et an dormiret explorauit. Et ecce puer iacebat exanguis et mortuo simillimus, oculis clausis; et dentibus constrictis. Cumque nullum in eo signum uite percepisset; materni affectus inoblita, exiliit de domo; et clamore et rugitu magno uicinos conuocauit, et eis filium suum subito mortuum nuntiauit. Et intrantes domum; inuenerunt puerum mortuum, uel mortuo simillimum. Sollicite enim illum pertrectantes; nec hanelitum nec uenas palpitantes in eo inuenerunt. Cumque sic a primo mane usque ad horam fere terciam permanisset; omnes eum mortuum dixerunt, et iam de eius sepultura tractauerunt. Unus autem ex ipsis sic erupit. Magna est domini uirtus in sancto Wlstano. Mensurate corpus pueri in longum et latum; et facite candelam ad mensuram ipsam, et uouete puerum sancto Wlstano; forsitan uisitabit eum dominus et reddet nobis. Quo facto; statim puer membra que prius obriguerant ad se collegit, oculos aperuit; et infra unius hore spacium gaudens et ludens omnibus se sanissimum indicauit. Tulerunt iamque puerum pater et mater et quidam e uicinis, uenientesque Wigorniam; hec sic se habere prestito sacramento coram nobis asserebant.

De muliere a graui dolore uiscerum liberata, et de duobus aliis curatis.

[Hereford-
shire.]

fo. 63.

39. Mulierem quandam de Herefordsyra dolor dirus uiscerum torquebat annis quatuor continue, ita quod nec sedere nec ambulare posset; set tantum iacere. Quod si semel se | ad aliquid agendum conaretur erigere; per totum mensem sequentem, nimia afflictione torqueretur. Hec audita fama miraculorum sanctissimi presulis Wlstani; Wigorniam allata est. Et, cum coram tumultu sancti Wlstani paululum obdormisset, sanissima surrexit; nichilque mali penitus sentiebat. Puella etiam quedam que dexteram medietatem

corporis sui paralisi amiserat; eadem die sanitatem recepit. Puer etiam quidam qui a lumbis et deorsum paralisi dissolutus est; eadem die meritis sanctissimi patris nostri Wlstani curatus est; set ante curationem grauissime torquebatur. Set quia multos ante curationem similiter torqueri perspeximus, et huius rei causa sollicite queratur a multis; absque preiudicio melioris sententie dicam ipse quid sentiam. Certum est enim quod non nisi culpis nostris exigentibus; potestatem aliquam habeat hostis antiquus in nobis. Multis autem profuit ad anime salutem carnis infirmitas; sicut scriptum est. *Multiplicate sunt infirmitates eorum; postea accelerauerunt.* Cum itaque peccator infirmitatis necessitate coactus, ad fidem et deuotionem se conuerterit; et in animo suo correctionem proposuerit, sentiens aduersarius dei uirtutem adesse; ad euacuandam tyrannidem quam exercuerat in peccatore culpa ipsius exigente, et iusticia dei permittente; inuidens et quasi de uictoria dei indignans, corpus sibi subiectum plus solito grauiter affligit et extorquet. Sic enim legimus in euangelio; cum quendam habentem spiritum immundum domino curandum optulissent, statim ut uidit eum Iesus; spiritus turbauit eum, et elisus in terram; uolutabatur spumans. Et cum precepisset Iesus; clamans et multum eum discerpens exiit ab eo. Ps. xvi, 4.
St. Luke ix. 42.

De puero qui laborabat acuta; curato.

40. | Puer quidam laborabat acuta, et usque ad extremum uite perductus est. Cumque diutius mortuo similis iaceret; et matrem eiulantem circumstantes amici consolarentur, dicentes non esse pro eo dolendum qui innocens ab hac uita raptus esset; unus eorum dixit matri illius. Magna est uirtus sancti Wlstani; nam frequenter audiuius quod per eum dominus uirtutes magnas operatus est. Metire corpus pueri, et fac candelam ad mensuram illam in honore sancti Wlstani; forsitan uisitabit eum dominus per merita ipsius. Quod cum mater summa cum festinatione fecisset; continuo fluxit sanguis ab eius naribus, et post paululum meritis et intercessionibus sanctissimi presulis et patroni nostri Wlstani sanissimus effectus est. Quod cum mater ipsius aspexisset; tendebat manus ad celum, et totos artus in laudem dei et serui sui Wlstani preparabat; et facillima garrulitate cantus hominum femina loquax euincebat. Profecit non parum et populi deuotio, et quod in unius actum est sanitate; multorum usque ad boni operis fructum predicauere corda. Ipse enim sanctissimus pastor et patronus noster beatissimus Wlstanus adiutor pupilli et defensor | fo. 63b.

uide; inuocatum eius nomen semper discernit de omni re dubia euidenti indicio, quanta apud omnipotentem deum eorum animas commendet intercessionem; quorum corpora hic tuetur tam imperiosa auctoritate.

De uisu unius oculi meritis sancti puero restituto.

41. Mulier quedam de Wallia adduxerat filiam suam Wigorniam, cuius oculum dextrum macula obsederat et excecauerat. Cumque ibi triduo mansisset, et filia eius minime curata fuisset; ut mos est gentis illius facile ad iracundiam moueri, cum ira et indignatione domum reuersa est. Uiro itaque eius querente quid factum fuisset, illa adhuc in feruore spiritus sui persistens; dixit quod si uera essent que de sancto Wlstanone dicebantur; filia eius curaretur. Set se Wlstanum | numquam de cetero diligere, uel ei seruire iurauit. Et cum hoc dixisset; statim puer quidam filius eius qui erat quasi annorum duodecim, clausit oculum sinistrum; nec amplius eum aperire potuit. Cumque manum apponerent tam pater quam mater eius; penitus oculum clausum aperire non poterant. Intelligens itaque mulier quod propter blasphemiam in sanctum dei Wlstanum, hoc ei flagellum contigisset; penitentiam egit, et fidei feruore succensa in crastino filium accepit; et uersus Wigorniam profecta est. Cumque a domo sua sex uel septem miliaribus discessisset, et crebris uocibus in uia clamitasset Sancte Wlstanone miserere, Sancte Wlstanone miserere; subito puer oculum aperuit et cum clamore hoc matri indicauit. Mater itaque cum gaudio filium Wigorniam duxit, et hec omnia nobis mirantibus et sanctum Wlstanum collaudantibus narrauit. At fortassis legenti prius deficiet fides, scribenti quoque tempus et dies; quam de glorioso confessore Wlstanone patrono nostro uera scribendi materies. Unum tamen adhuc succincte proponamus in medium; utile ad modum contra incautam temeritatem circumspectionis documentum. Hoc enim exterriti exemplo quos cauteriata adurit conscientia, sanctos dei blasphemare; siue sacrosanctis tractandis ferendisue pignerbis infrunita se non subinferant audacia. Certe Oza leuitae dum quod sui non erat officii archam bouum lasciuia irrationabilitate paululum inclinatam irreuerenter sustentasset; percussus est a domino. Cuius mors tam facilis quid aliud inuuit; nisi quod periculosius paciantur in anima, qui sanctos dei blasphemant aut sancta tangunt polluta conscientia? Quod mirabilis deus in gloriosissimo confessore atque pontifice Wlstanone euidenti comprobare dignatus est indicio.

| fo. 64.

2 Samuel vi.
6 (Vulg. 2
Regum vi. 6),
and 1 Chron.
xiii. 9.

De tribus mulieribus a diuersis infirmitatibus curatis.

42. Mulier quedam satis nota in uilla Glocestrie utpote que cotidianam annonam de elemosina fratrum eiusdem uille| con- | fo. 64b.
sueuit accipere, ita paralisi dissoluta est; ut tam lingue quam omnium membrorum officio priuaretur. Hec ad tumultum sancti Wlstani confessoris delata est. Ubi cum aliquandiu moraretur; quadam die cum se sopori dedisset, euigilans erexit se; et lingue et omnium membrorum pristinam recepit sanitatem. Altera que acutam paciebatur cum se terminare crederet; totus morbus a lumbis et sursum resedit, ita ut uix brachia et manus liberas haberet ad aliquid faciendum; meritis sanctissimi confessoris pristinam recepit sanitatem. Alia quedam tisica tam fortiter laborabat; ut si semel tussiret fortiter; uel ad aliquid se conaretur, statim in extasim decideret; ibidem meritis et intercessionibus sanctissimi patris nostri Wlstani curata est. Tanti siquidem patris intercessione salus egris; gressus claudis, uisus cecis; integritas membrorum paraliticis, mundatio datur leprosis; et quisque debilis redditur sospitati. Multa uero sunt sepefati patris miracula, que siquis denotare conaretur pennula; in immensa crescerent uolumina. Sed quoniam omnia nostra nequit amplecti pagina; de innumerabilibus referre satagamus minima.

De iuvene cuius lingua fuerat amputata per sanctum Wlstanum sanato.

43. Gloriosi patris ac patroni nostri sanctissimi Wlstani adhuc in tumultu quiescentis gesta omnimoda ueritatis ratione subnixa, precedentium patrum uestigia subsequentes; stili officio diuina opitulante gratia uenture decreuimus digerere posteritati. Solent enim scriptorum negligentia dicta uel inspecta sanctorum miracula relabi a memoria, nisi literarum apicibus essent commendata. Verum si ingenii nostri igniculum lux diuina splendore suo dignaretur ignire; in patroni nostri preconia tota mentis deuotione prorumperemus. Quoniam uero | ad omnium miraculorum eius | fo. 65.
narrationem nec litera potest nec sermo noster sufficere; ad aliqua que ab illo gesta sunt narranda stilum uertamus. Non enim exteriori fauore excitamur, set pure conscientie secreto delectamur. Ne igitur nostrorum aliquis emulorum sola ingenii opinione ꝑceptos, nos de sancti huius innumeris uirtutibus aliqua falsa proferre in propatulo estimet; ea que oculi nostri inspexerunt uel que a ueridicis testibus audiuius, fideliter referemus. Uir potens in Hybernia

nomine Hugo de Laci¹ militem quendam odio tam inexorabili persecutus est; ut totam cognationem suam perderet et deleret, aliis in patibulo suspensis; aliis membris mutulatis, absque delectu sexus etatis uel conditionis. Inter quos etiam cuidam puero annorum quasi trium linguam sub fauce fecit auelli. Creuit itaque puer, et ad annos uiriles peruenit; semper tamen mutus existens. Cumque sepius in Hyberniam per uisum fuisset admonitus ut Wigorniam pergeret, ibidem a beato Wlstanio confessore curandus; tandem illuc ueniens tribus noctibus coram tumultu sancti Wlstani dei misericordiam prestolabatur. Nocte uero tertia monachis ecclesie in capitulo uigilias agentibus de sancto Romano episcopo, erat enim sollempne festum ipsius; ecclesie enim Anglicane diebus illis officia diuina fuerant interdicta, prefatus mutus supposito capite suo tumultu sancti Wlstani paululum obdormiuit. Apparuit ei in uisu beata uirgo Maria in habitu splendido et deaurato descendens de altari, sanctus quoque Wlstanus quasi de tumultu progrediens; pontificalibus indutus et ornatus. Cumque simul uenissent coram muto, sanctus Wlstanus flexis genibus coram beata uirgine rogabat eam pro infirmo; manibus suis os eius aperiens et dilatans. Beato uero uirgo digitos in os eius mittens, locum lingue tetigit; et quasi linguam ei adaptauit et protraxit. Pedem quoque unum super latus dormientis tam fortiter impres- | sit, ut exiliens exclamaret uoce magna; sancta Maria, sancte Wlstane. Statimque sensit linguam sibi reddi et loquelam. Ardebat autem coram tumultu cereus unus in baccili appensus. Hora autem qua uisionem uidit infirmus; inclinauit se cereus deorsum, quasi transeuntes adorans; et reuerentiam eis exhibens. Quod multi in ecclesia tunc uigilantes fide digni uiri et mulieres se uidisse iureiurando testati sunt. Erat autem ibidem uir quidam cum uxore sua dormiens iuxta mutum, et altera mulier similiter. Cui apparuit in uisu sancta Maria dicens. Quid hic dormis? Surge et assumptis tecum homine isto cum uxore sua transite in aliam partem tumuli; et estote ibi cum aliis. Euigilansque mulier surrexit continuo; ducensque secum hominem illum cum uxore sua, solo muto ibi relicto; uenitque ad eos qui

[Oct. 22.]

| fo. 65b.

¹ The Hugh de Laci mentioned in this narrative is presumably either that Hugh who was murdered in 1186 or more probably his younger son, also named Hugh, who became Earl of Ulster in 1205 after he had defeated John de Courci and who was expelled from Ireland in 1210. The mute of the above story is described in the Annals of Worcester (*Ann. Mon.*, IV, p. 401) as "dominus cognomento Pippard." The Annals add that he built a church in Ireland in honour of St. Wulfstan and gave it with 30 carucates of land to the church of Worcester.

in alia parte tumuli sedebant, et eis uisionem quam uiderat enarrauit. Adhuc autem ea loquente; audita est uox muti clamantis sancta Maria, sancte Wlstane. Ad cuius clamorem simul omnes cucurrerunt, et eum qui mutus fuerat loquentem inuenerunt. Cognouerunt ergo quia illa hora uiderat mutus uisionem; qua se cereus sic inclinauit. Uenerunt postea multi qui mutum in Hyberniam prius uiderant et agnouerant, et linguam eius uidentes et loquentem audientes; cum admiratione magna dominum glorificabant. Factum est autem miraculum istud in ecclesia Wigornensi anno incarnati uerbi millesimo ducentesimo duodecimo; uicesima tertia die mensis Octobris. Huius igitur tam sancti uiri tanquam deo [Oct. 23. 1212.] fidelis imitatores estote; eius legendo gesta uirtutum, retinete exempla. Ergo quis unquam digne poterit laudare quem deus tanto miraculo uoluit approbare? Aut que mens humana de meritis illius desperare audeat, quem a tocius bonitatis principe domino scilicet Iesu Christo talibus miraculis glorificatum non ignorat? Itaque tante uirtutis | uirum imitari studete omnes | fo. 66. Christiane fidei cultores, presertim popule diocesis Wigornensis; cui uerbi diuini pabula administrauit, et in legendis eius uita et miraculis uigilanti animo desudate; et gloriosum patronum ac pastorem uestrum Wlstanum assiduus precibus implorate, ut fidei catholice per eum perseueranter teneatis augmenta; a quo etiam sumpsistis primordia. Magnitudo itaque signorum que ad sepulchrum eius de die in diem dominus operatur, merita ipsius longe lateque declarat; et insigni fama permotos ad memoriam illius innumeros populos aggregat. Veruntamen id in fine adiciendum esse putauimus; ut si quis hec legens uel audiens indignitatem et ingenii nostri fatuitatem remota pietate perpenderit, et ea re hiis que de tanto patre dicta sunt fidem prebere contempserit; nouerit quia omnia que de eo ut cumque descripsimus auctoritate uenerabilium uirorum roborata probamus. Succurrant igitur et auxilientur nobis petimus tua sancta merita pater sancte Wlstane apud dominum deum nostrum, ut mereamur adiuuari ab eo; qui uiuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum amen.

De milite a graui morbo liberato.

44. Erat quidam miles de magnatibus Hyberniam Adam de Herefordia¹ nomine, rerum mundanarum affluentia et seculari eloquentia

¹ Adam de Hereford is famous as the leader of the Normans in the naval battle with the Ostmen of Cork in 1173. He was a feudatory of Strongbow and from him received the "cantred of Offelan nearest to Dublin" and half of the village of Achebo and of the cantred in which it lay in Upper

[fo. 66b.]

nobilitatus; et ob hoc in oculis Iohannis illustris regis Anglie inuenit gratiam et fauorem. Hic cum ad mandatum regis de Hybernia thesaurum regium adduxisset in Angliam; regio diutius adhesit lateri, speciali quadam familiaritate retentus; utpote quem rex et in consiliis prouidum, et in quibuscumque secularibus negociis nouerat discretum. Cumque curiam sequens curas regias curiose supportaret; ydropisim incurrit. Et inualescente plurimum aduersa illa ualitudine, regi ualefaciens et curie; lecto decubuit. Cui rex medicos suos reliquit uniuersos, ut ipsius curam agentes; curie curatum restituerent. Qui uniuersa percurrentes medicaminum genera, cum nichil proficerent in urina; aduerterunt quia mors esset in olla. Erat languido uenter instar dolii extentus. Intumuerant etiam et membra uniuersa, ut mirarentur intuentes cutem sic extensam nec ruptam. Sitis ei inextinguibilis et continua. Totaque egritudinis materia uidebatur ergo circa cor coagulata, et admodum lapidis indurata. Hinc punctiones continue miserum miserabiliter affligere, ut nec ad horam cessaret a clamore. In tantum etiam in eo uirtus egestiua defecerat; ut per quinque uel amplius dies nullam omnino sentiret in uentre motionem. His eger afflictus incomodis; medicos coegerat in desperationem. Set et in urina sola mortis apparuerunt indicia. Et in pectoris eleuatione; mors uicina nunciabatur. Unde et decanus Wellensis qui precipuus erat in medicis cum humana inquit medicamina certus sim in nullo uobis profutura; missam cantaturus deo deuota pro uobis orationum offeram libamina, et ecclesiam missam celebraturus intrauit. Infirmus igitur ille omnino ad uerum se conuertens medicum, tota mentis deuotione cepit deum deprecari; ut per merita gloriosi confessoris sui Wlstani sanitatem ei dignaretur impertiri, et statim complicans in honore sancti Wlstani denarium; eidem si euaderet se deuouit peregrinum. Set et lichino se per omnia membra circumcingens mensus est; candelam inde facturum ante tumbam eiusdem confessoris accendendam. Mirum dictu; in ipso momento punctiones et dolor omnis cessauere; et ceruica calida quam desideranter petierat hausta, uirus horrendum euomuit in tanta

Ossory (Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans*, I, pp 330, 379, 388. On p. 394 is printed from the original in the Ormond Muniments the charter of Strongbow granting Achebo to him). Adam died before June 1, 1216 (*Rotuli de Oblatis et Fimibus*, p. 599). The dean of Wells mentioned here is probably Alexander, third dean of Wells, who held office from c. 1189 to 1213 (J. Armitage Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 67-72). If this is so, the reference to his skill in medicine seems to be in addition to our knowledge of him.

quantitate ; ut uix illud crederet qui non uidisset. Illicoque tumor ille nefandus detumuit, et soluto uentre ; usque ad uiginti quinque assellationes | non cessauit. Sicque ad manum celestis medici |fo. 67. quasi potione sumpta medicinali ; per irriguum superius et per irriguum inferius plene purgatus, in tantam resedit gracilitatem ; ut plus mirarentur astantes tunc gracilitatem in curato quam ante tumorem in ydropico. Depositaque in duobus urinalibus urina, facto mane medicos mandauit ; qui desperantes per aliquot dies se absentauerant. Qui primo primam, et postmodum secundam circumspiciendo iudicantes ; et non sicut heri et nudius tercius eam contemplantes, repleti sunt stupore et extasi in eo quod contigerat illi ; dicentes quia iudicio urine, sanus esset et incolumis. Quo respondente quia sic se haberet, et rem gestam narrante ; eos plus mirari coegit. O quam magna multitudo dulcedinis tue domine Iesu quam abscondisti timentibus te ; quia non reuelas nisi inuocantibus et diligentibus te. Quis unquam in desiderio anime sue inuocauit te et derelictus est ? Euoluto itaque modico temporis interuallo supradictus miles mandauit domino suo regi ea que sibi acciderant ; humiliter supplicans ne molestam haberet eius moram, quoniam nullum terrenum amicum uisitare ; donec peregrinatione sua completa, uota sua domino redderet coram omni populo eius. Veniensque Wigorniam, et hec conuentui narrans ; commune beneficium in pleno capitulo meruit percipere. Post capitulum uero nobilitatis fastu deposito coram altari cum quodam paupere eodem die curato, se prostrauit, circumstantibus clero et populo tocius urbis et eiusdem ecclesie monachis uniuersis *te deum laudamus* cantantibus ; et deo gratias referentibus. Multa uero et innumerabilia per hunc sanctissimum et gloriosissimum Wlstanum episcopum postquam tumulariam meruit sepulturam ; Christi clementia operata est miracula, que si scriberentur ; multorum uoluminum summam comprehenderent, ac per hoc ab infirmis intellectibus apocripha dicerentur. Nos | uero quantum certissime |fo. 67b. scire potuimus ; necessaria hec tantum ad ecclesiam dei roborandam silentio tegere nequiuimus, licet non omnia ad liquidum prosecuti fuerimus ; que de tam preclaro et magnifico confessore et episcopo dicenda fuerant. Sed fortassis cui ista non sufficiunt ; nec ampliora si scriberentur sufficerent uolumina. Assit nobis ille de se loquentibus ; qui in urbe Wigornensi extitit pius pastor et episcopus, ut orationibus eius muniti hereditatis eterne mereamur participes adiungi sanctorum collegio in regnum domini nostri Jesu Christi ; cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum amen.

De muliere ab insania per sanctum Wlstanum curata.

45. Puella quedam infirmabatur usque ad mortem, quam mater eius tenere dilexit; quia unica illi fuit. Mater itaque infirmitanti filie supra modum compaciens, pre dolore in insaniam uersa est; adeo ut nec maritum nec aliquem notorum cognosceret. Funibus itaque fortiter astricta Wigornie allata est; ibique pernoctans pristinam recepit sanitatem.

De visu iuueni restituto.

46. Iuuenis quidam diutina febre laborans oculos continue lacrimantes fere excecatos habebat, ita ut uix uiam uideret. Adductus Wigorniam; coram tumultu sanctissimi presulis Wlstani obdormiuit. Ubi uidebatur sibi quod duas columbas candidas coram se uolitare uideret, et ad oculos iacentis motu alarum suarum uentum agitabant. Expergefactus autem uisum clarissimum recepit.

De puero quodam infirmo per sanctum Wlstanum curato.

47. Puer quidam quasi annorum duodecim; casu fortuito meridie obdormiuit in agro. Euigilans autem manus et pedes habuit retortas. Caput quoque retortum fuit, ita ut mentum super humerum dextrum portaret. Visum etiam et loquelam eadem hora pariter amisit. Cumque tres annos sic permansisset, pater eius audita fama sancti Wlstani; Wigorniam eum perduxit. Ubi cum pernoctasset, et paululum obdormisset; expergefactus sanissimus inuentus est. Deprecemur itaque fratres karissimi piissimum confessorem et patronum nostrum gloriosissimum Wlstanum; ut nobis peccatoribus tam preclara eius merita ex animo uenerantibus dignetur obtinere mortalium criminum ueniam, qui in predictis miraculis multis seruis suis efficacem ostendit misericordiam. Assit ipse in omnibus uite nostre periculis; protector omnibus suum dulcissimum nomen inuocantibus, qui est aduocatus noster in hora exitus nostri; et in die iudicii contra omnes aduersariorum impetus potentissimus defensor, quatinus una secum et sanctis omnibus regni celestis consortes esse mereamur; prestante domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus; per infinita secula seculorum amen.

Explicit liber primus Miraculorum sancti Wlstani.

Incipit prologus libri secundi.

Ad omnipotentis dei laudem cum sepe recitentur sanctorum miracula que per eos egit diuina clementia ; inter cetera sanctissimi confessoris Christi et episcopi Wlstani debent referri preconia, que sunt omni melle dulciora. Ergo ad roborandas in eius amorem mentes fidelium, et ad excitanda corda humilium ut percipiant gaudia celestium ; sub breuitate sermonis ut in prouerbio dicitur paucis constringere multa de glorioso confessore atque patrono nostro Wlstano quedam descripturi sumus miracula ; que a uiris fidelibus nostris auribus narrari audiuius, quedam eciam que nostris oculis deo donante inspeximus ; intelligentes humane esse consuetudinis nouis siue inauditis rebus semper animum accomodare, et antiquis ut multociens auditis et optime cognitis quantumque ferantur precio minus intendere. Verum enimuero sic nequaquam oportet fieri, | sed multo amplius noua cum antiquis | fo. 68b. diligentissime perscrutari ; ut quemadmodum diuersis cibis corpus, sic uariis uirtutibus et miraculis animus affectuosius inhereat ; cum omnibus ratione uigentibus sit in propatulo nullum bonum alteri nocere, sicut e diuerso scimus nullum malum alteri prodesse. Ista est materialis causa qui¹ licet longe infra pedes aliorum positi, tamen coacti sumus ad hoc opus accedere ; et hoc deprecantibus fratribus et amicis multorum pro uelle morem gerere, docti magis in dei sapientia quam in aliqua scintilla secularis scientie confidere. Subsequitur etiam finalis causa qua spes maxime appetenda percipitur tam scriptores quam lectores et auditores in die tremendi examinis ab ira iudicis per merita gloriosissimi confessoris Christi et episcopi Wlstani protegi ; cuius cognoscimur uirtutes tum scribendo tum legendo et audiendo uenerari. Verum quoniam nec Tulliana eloquentia nec Homeri siue Maronis scientia prediti sumus, tantam talemque materiam agressuri ; cui et ipsi quamuis inuiti non prout deceret de tanta talique scribendo succumberent, omnipotentis dei sapientiam exoremus ; ut qui cunctis sapientibus tribuit scientiam, linguas etiam infantium facit disertas ; nobis ad laudes gloriosissimi confessoris sui Wlstani exprimendas, condignam tribuat efficaciam. Scripturi igitur uirtutes et miracula gloriosissimi confessoris Christi et episcopi Wlstani, priusquam ad materiam accedamus ; uultum demissum et simplices potius quam doctas aures adhiberi flagitamus, quatinus liceat nobis magis Christiano quam Ciceroniano ore loqui ; et exemplum sancti cuius

¹ Sic MS.

|fo. 69.

prodigia sumpsimus describenda etiam humili stilo imitari. Si quid uero reprehensione dignum fuerit inuentum; hinc ueniam mereatur, quod illo amore sanctissimi confessoris Wlstani sumus coacti tam egregio operi minus docti insistere. De annotatione sanctissimi presulis Wlstani inter |ciues supernos et domesticos dei per diuersos fines orbis terrarum magnifica priuilegium testimoniale sub obliuionis inuolucro tanquam mortuum a corde non relinquemus. Ut igitur exauditu dilatetur fides, et deuotio eorum qui pretergrediuntur uiam uehementius accendatur in odorem suauitatis; incentium proponimus ipsum in medio lectoribus non reticendum.

Litere dompni pape episcopo et capitulo Wigornensi, de canonizatione sancti Wlstani.

St. Matt. v,
15.

1. Innocentius¹ episcopus seruus seruorum dei, uenerabili fratri episcopo² et dilectis filiis capitulo Wigorniensi; salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum secundum euangelicam ueritatem nemo accendat lucernam et ponat illam sub modio set super candelabrum, ut omnes qui in domo sunt uideant; pium pariter est et iustum ut quos deus merito sanctitatis coronat et honorat in celis, nos uenerationis officio laudemus et glorificemus in terris; cum ipse potius laudetur et glorificetur in illis, qui est laudabilis et gloriosus in sanctis. Pietas enim promissionem habet uite que nunc est et future, dicente domino per prophetam, Dabo uos cunctis populis in laudem et gloriam et honorem, et per se pollicente. Fulgebunt iusti sicut sol in regno patris eorum. Nam ut sue uirtutis potenciam mirabiliter manifestet, et nostre salutis causam misericorditer operetur; fideles suos quos semper coronat in celo frequenter etiam honorat in mundo, ad eorum memorias signa faciens et prodigia per que prauitas confundatur heretica; et fides catholica confirmetur. Nos ergo karissimi quantas possumus etsi non quantas debemus omnipotenti deo gratiarum referimus actiones, quod in diebus nostris ad confirmationem catholice fidei et confusionem heretice prauitatis; euidenter innouat signa, et mirabilia potenter inmutat; faciens eos choruscare miraculis, qui fidem catholicam tam corde quam ore necnon et opere tenuerunt. Inter |quos pie memorie Wlstanus Wigorniensis episcopus degens olim in mundo, magnis meritis prepollebat; et nunc uiuens in

|fo. 69b.

¹ Sic MS. ² In the copy of this bull in MSS. Royal 4, c. ii, fo. 146b in the British Museum, "M" (i.e. "Malgerio") is inserted before "episcopo."

celo, multis coruscat miraculis; ut eius sanctitas certis indiciis comprobetur. Licet enim ad hoc ut aliquis sanctus sit apud deum in ecclesia triumphante sola sufficiat finalis perseuerantia, teste ueritate que dicit. Quoniam qui perseuerauerit usque in finem; hic saluus erit. Et iterum. Esto fidelis usque ad mortem, et dabo tibi coronam uite; ad hoc tamen ut ipse sanctus apud homines habeatur in ecclesia militante, duo sunt necessaria; uirtus morum et uirtus signorum, merita uidelicet, et miracula; ut hec et illa sibi inuicem contestentur. Non enim aut merita sine miraculis, aut miracula sine meritis plene sufficiunt ad perhibendum inter homines testimonium sanctitati; cum interdum angelus Sathane transfiguret se in angelum lucis, et quidam opera sua faciant ut ab hominibus uideantur. Set et magi Pharaonis olim signa fecerunt, et antichristus tandem prodigia operabitur; ut si fieri possit in errorem etiam ducantur electi. Verum cum et merita saha precedunt et clara succedunt miracula; certum prebent indicium sanctitatis, ut nos ad ipsius uenerationem inducant; quem deus meritis precedentibus et miraculis exhibet uenerandum. Que duo ex uerbis euangeliste plenius colliguntur, qui de apostolis loquens aiebat. Illi profecti predicauerunt ubique domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. Sane cum olim ad audientiam nostram tanti uiri merita et miracula peruenissent; maturius procedere cupientes, cum diuinum sit iudicium huiusmodi potius quam humanum; uenerabilibus fratribus nostris Cantuariensi archiepiscopo,¹ et episcopo Elyensi²; et dilectis filiis sancti Eadmundi³ et de Woburna⁴ abbatibus dedimus in mandatis, ut ad Wigornensem ecclesiam pariter accedentes; uniuerso collegio uestro et populo ciuitatis ieiunium indicere triduanum, infra quod omnes unanimiter peteretis ab eo qui uia ueritas est et uita aperiri super hoc uiam ueritatis ad uitam; ac deinde non per testimonia tamen set per testes etiam famam uulgatam, et scripturam autenticam de uirtute morum et uirtute signorum operibus uidelicet et miraculis diligenter inquirerent ueritatem; et nobis fideliter intimarent. Ipsi ergo cum ad Wigornensem ecclesiam accessissent, iuxta mandatum apostolicum processerunt; et quasi pauca de multis miraculis eius super quibus testes deposuere iurati et in quorum testimonio tota ciuitas acclamabat; scripturam quoque autenticam de uita ipsius ante centum annos Anglicana lingua conscriptam sub sigillis suis per te frater

St. Matt.
xxiv. 13.

Rev. ii. 10.

2 Cor. xi. 14.

Exod. vii. 11.

St. Matt.
xxiv. 24.

St. Mark xvi,
20.

1 Jo. 70.

¹ Hubert Walter.

³ Sampson.

² Eustace.

⁴ Peter.

episcopo nobis dirigere procurauerunt. Qui postmodum in nostra presentia constitutus nobis humiliter supplicasti; ut predictum episcopum ascriberemus sanctorum cathalogo uenerandum. Patuit ergo nobis per scripturam autenticam et depositiones testium quod ad sepulchrum eius muti loquelam; leprosus mundationem, ydropicus et paraliticus receperant sanitatem; et quod quamplura miracula dominus inuocantibus nomen eius et predicti episcopi quasi iugiter operatur, quare de meritis et miraculis eius multis et magnis non solum testimoniis set et testibus certiores effecti; cum secundum prophetam laudandus sit deus in sanctis suis de fratrum nostrorum consilio; ipsum beatum pontificem et confessorem Wlstanum cathalogo sanctorum ascripsimus, eiusque memoriam inter sanctos decreuimus celebrandam. Qua propter uniuersitatem uestram monemus et exhortamur in domino per apostolica uobis scripta mandantes; quatinus quod nos sollempniter et caute statuimus, uos humiliter et deuote seruetis; ut meritis eius et precibus apud misericordissimum iudicem nos et uos indulgentiam consequamur. Collectam autem in commemoratione eius dicendam edidimus, quam in hac pagina | duximus subscribendam. Spiritum nobis domine tue caritatis infunde; ut intercedende¹ beato Wlstano confessore tuo atque pontifice, tuam mereamur dulcedinem in eterna felicitate gustare; per dominum, in unitate eiusdem. Data Ferentini, pridie idus Maii, pontificatus nostri anno vi^o.

| fo. 70b.

May 14,
1203

(A)d narrandum laudes sancti et uirtutes eius et mirabilia eius que per eum dominus operatus est; prout dabit eloqui qui dedit uerbum euangelizantibus uirtute multa, itidem stilum non pigritamus reflectere.

De duobus iuuenibus a graui infirmitate liberatis.

2. Iuuenis quidam de Wallia graui infirmitate circa interiora sua detinebatur, ita ut quociens cibum uel potum sumeret; statim illum priusquam digereretur per os reiceret. Cumque hoc annis tribus pateretur, tandem Wigorniam allatus est; ibique plenam recepit sanitatem. Alius quidam iuuenis miserabiliter incuruatus, genibus pectori applicatis; corpus inutile trahebat super terram. Qui quo magis desperabat humanum; ad diuinum confugit auxilium. Veniens itaque Wigorniam, coram tumulo sancti patris Wlstani obdormiuit; euigilansque sanitatem pristinam recepit. Pedes igitur et incolumis ad propria reuertebatur; qui inutilis Wigorniam suorum humeris sustentatus ferebatur.

¹ Sic MS.

De duabus mulieribus a graui infirmitate per sanctum Wlstanum liberatis.

3. Mulier quedam fluxum sanguinis paciebatur annis nouem. Gutta etiam renes eius et femur sinistrum sic obsederat ; ut non sine graui tormento, baculo sustentata posset incedere. Capitis quoque dolorem continuum paciebatur. Pergens itaque Wigorniam, antequam ciuitatem ingrederetur ; a fluxu sanguinis liberata est. Unde fiduciam maiorem concipiens ad sanctum Wlstanum properauit, ibique pernoctans ; | ab omni penitus egritudine soluta | fo 7r. est. Altera quedam uentrem adeo tumentem habebat, ut monstro similis appareret. Multas in eo miserabiles paciebatur angustias. Audiuius de ore eius quod multum desiderasset ut aliquis ei uentrem incideret ; et cum uita pariter dolorem adimeret. Allata Wigorniam, quanta potuit deuotione sanctum inuocabat Wlstanum. Nec defuit pater sanctissimus precibus et gemitibus suis, set die quadam cum multo fetore saniem multam euomuit ; et ab omni non solum tumore set et dolore curata est.

De boue quodam a tumore et graui infirmitate sanato.

4. Uir noti nominis et integre fame Henricus prior Herefordie,¹ emerat duos boues pingues et decores aspectu. Quos cum quidam uidisset ; cepit eos laudare, et membrorum formam plurimum commendare ; set post unius hore spacium unus eorum corruens in terram in tantum tumorem uersus est ; ut uix in pelle propria posset contineri. Videres bouem singulis momentis quasi suffocatum expirare, et ad eius angustias circumstantes pietate moueri. Tunc unus eorum ait. Mensurate corpus bouis, et ad mensuram illam facite candelam in honore sancti Wlstani ; forsitan enim ut uulgo dici solet in ore laudantis fascinatus est. Quod cum factum fuisset ; mirum dictu, statim bos surrexit de terra ; et quasi nichil mali pertulisset ad herbas carpendas se conuertit. Tumor etiam penitus detumuit, ita ut in crastinum cum ceteris bobus ad aratrum mitteretur. Hec audiuius de ore predicti prioris qui candelam quam in honore sancti Wlstani fecerat pro sanitate bouis ; de Herefordia Wigorniam attulit.

De iuvene a graui infirmitate curato qui prius contempsit usare sanctum Wlstanum.

5. Quidam uir Nicholas nomine de Cluna cum a quodam | fo. 7rb.

¹ Henry prior of St. Guthlac of Hereford was in office in 1226 (*Monasticon*, III, p. 621).

[Clun, co
Shropshire.]

moneretur ut sanctum uisitaret Wlstanum, pro quo deus multa mirabilia operatus est; respondit. Nolo in uanum laborare. Ut quid pergerem quo me deuotio nulla trahit? At ille. Si scires inquit donum dei, et quanta operatus est dominus in sancto suo; libenter laborasses in honore illius. Et iuuenis quasi ex contemptu. Quid inquit operatus uel operaturus sit; neque scio neque scire curo, unum scio quia pedem illo non uertam. O admiranda potentia dei, O predicanda sanctitas patris nostri Wlstani. Vix iuuenis finem fecerat loquendi; et iam sumpsit initium penitendi. Tantus enim dolor uiscerum incontinenti eum arripuit, ut elisus in terram et miserabiliter se discerpens; horribili rugitu timorem astantibus incuteret. Cerebrum etiam eius ut ipse postea narrauit adeo uis doloris perturbauerat, ut si uel leniter caput a terra conaretur erigere; oculorum uisu priuaretur. Cumque diutius in terra uolutaretur clamans, notis eius astantibus et intuentibus nec esset qui accederet uel tangeret eum uidebant enim dolorem esse uehementem; unus astantium dixit. Adducite sacerdotem cum uiatico, ne quod absit intestatus et sine sacramentis ecclesiasticis decedat. Qui adductus; confessionem ab eo magis extorsit quam accepit. Tanta enim erat uis doloris, ut non sine graui tormento et magno interuallo uerbum proferret. Eo igitur confitente quod in iniuriam et contemptum sancti Wlstani blasphemasset, et accepto a sacerdote in loco penitentie ut quam citius posset ad sanctum Wlstanum properaret; et ei aliquem pro modulo suo honorem impenderet, continuo aliquantillam meliorationem recepit; suosque rogauit, ut eum quantocius Wigorniam afferrent. Venit igitur Wigorniam, plus alienis quam propriis pedibus innitens; ibique se proiecit ueniam postulaturus a sancto. Nec defuit misero pii patris miseratio; set quem habuit seuerum in correptione, misericordem reperit in compassione. Statim enim ut peccatum suum publice confessus est; sensit uelut aquam refrigerantem per omnia membra sua dilabi, et cum aqua dilabenti omnem a se penitus dolorem auerti. Sicque factum est; ut ad laudem sanctissimi Wlstani proprio compelleretur supplicio, quem inducere non poterat aliena commonitio.

[fo. 72.]

De equo a graui tumore mirabiliter per sanctum dei sanato.

[Powick,
co. Worc.]

6. Quidam uir Eustachius nomine de Poiwika habuit equum album; quem tempore estiuo ligauerat in agro ad pascendum. Quem uespere ueniens ut domi reduceret, eum e minus aspiceret; uidit eum caput habentem nigrum, ita ut uix suum esse deprehen-

deret; quia prius eum totum album in agro reliquerat. Et accedens propius uidit caput equi horribiliter inflatum, et ex ipsa inflatione perpendit ipsum in nigredinem conuersum. Credidit ergo illum a serpente percussum esse, uel uermem aliquem uirosum cum herba comedisse. Monstrum diceris si oculos uideres et labra instar duorum panum protuberantia. Capud quoque usque ad terram pre infirmitate et sui ponderositate dependebat, ita ut quociens illud moueret; terram labris contingeret. Indoluit igitur homo uehementer, utpote qui totam uel fere totam substantiam suam in equum illum deposuerat; et iam illum morti uicinum aspiciebat. Stabat diutius ignorans quid ageret. Tandem denarium arreptum digitis complicit, et illum sancto Wlstanio deuouit; signumque sancte crucis in capite equi cum denario depinxit. Mira res. Quociens denarium applicuit; ad tactum illius tumor detumuit. Nigredo quoque quasi crucem fugiens ad singula queque signa, pristino candore succedente disparuit; uelut cum lintheo lutum abstergeres. Nec prius destitit homo signa crucis depingere; donec caput equi pristinam reciperet gracilitatem et sanitatem.

| *De brachio mulieris per beatum Wlstanum sanato.*

| fo. 72b.

7. Uir quidam de Coleshulla in Erderna Ricardus sellarius nomine uxorem suam nomine Edelinam citra maritalem affectum durius tractabat. Unde quadam nacta occasione ligno quod manu tenebat brachium dextrum muliercule confregit. Postea uero os brachii consolidatum est; non tamen ut oportebat. Nullum enim in brachio brachii usum mulier habebat, set penitus inutile iugiter a collo ligatum pendeat. Consuluit super hoc quendam qui se medicum gerebat, cuius consilio de pollice dextro sanguinem extraxit; set et hoc malo suo. A die enim illa et deinceps non solum brachii, set et manus et omnium simul digitorum officio priuata est. Diebus itaque multis uixit miserabilis muliercula in infirmitate illa, non solum uiro; sed et sibimet inutilis et onerosa. Tandem audita fama miraculorum sanctissimi patris nostri Wlstani; Wigorniam perrexit, et coram tumulo sancti cum lacrimis et gemitu uel sibi sanitatem; uel uite breuitatem postulabat. Ubi cum fletu fatigata paululum obdormisset; expergefactam brachium cum manu et digitis ad quodlibet opus cum omni agilitate mouentem aspeximus.

[Coleshill
(in Arden),
co. War.]

De duobus mulieribus ab infirmitatibus sanatis.

8. Venerunt due mulieres Walenses Wigorniam una fere et eadem infirmitate laborantes. Condixerant quippe in partibus suis ut pari deuotione ad sanctum Wlstanum properarent; quas par afflictio cruciabat. Continua uiscerum incisione torquebantur utreque, sed uni earum quedam humorum conglobatio sub pectore; instar lapidis induruit. Venientes itaque Wigorniam sancti Wlstani suffragia deuote postulabant, factumque est ut eadem die et eadem fere hora conualescerent; quas eadem deuotio pro eadem fere incommoditate Wigorniam adduxerat. | Eadem etiam die quidam de Fernberga nomine Willelmus quem similis infirmitas set multo grauius annis duodecim attenuauerat; plene restitutus est sanitati, ad laudem domini nostri Iesu Christi; cui honor et gloria in secula seculorum amen.

] fo. 73

[? Farnborough, co War.]

De homine qui pedem habuit contractum per sanctum Wlstanum sanato.

[Coventry, co. War.]

9. Roberti cuiusdam de Couentre cum pede et tibia femur dextrum emarcuerat, qui pede a terra suspenso neruisque in poplite contractis; dampnum incessus baculo redimebat. Cumque in medicos in quibus non est salus totam fere substantiam suam erogasset; intellexit denique quia uana salus hominis, et quia bonum est uirum ponere in domino deo spem suam. Solius enim domini est salus, qui uulnerat et medetur; et iratus misericordie recordatur. Venit itaque Wigorniam, non sine labore et cruciatu multo. Ubi cum se in orationem dedisset; omnis eum dolor et anxietas, ipseque baculum in signum sanitatis ibi dimisit.

De his qui periculum maris per sanctum Wlstanum euaserunt.

[Bristol, co. Glouc.]

[1235-1242.]

[? Lundy Island.]

10. Quidam de Bristollis nauem ascenderunt; ut in Hyberniam transfretarent. Et cum in altum produxissent; tota die prospero cursu nauigabant. Sole uero uergente; uersa est et serenitas in procellam. Itaque tota nocte illa arte et labore uentis et mari reluctantibus, mane iam facto prope insulam deuenerunt cuius nomen excidit; illam scilicet quam famosus ille pirata Willelmus de Mareis occupauerat, his diebus homo satis inhumane se gerens; et aliorum dampnis sua lucra multiplicans. Naues enim transeuntes sepius submergebat, et pro paucis quandoque pecuniis multorum animas extorquebat. In dubium ergo uenit an tempestas maris tempestati; an hominis inhumani se committerent tyrannidi. Inito tamen

consilio | elegerunt potius in manus hominis incidere ; quam cum certo periculo diutius decertare. Instabant igitur quantum poterant ut insulam ingrederentur, et cum hoc iam fecisse sperarent ; ecce uentus contrarius eos iterum in altum reduxit. Ubi tota die tempestate preualida fatigati nocte tenebrosa superueniente anchoras duas emiserunt ; sed eas procella inualescente ruptis funibus amiserunt. Malum itaque cum uelo deponentes, tota nocte quaqua uersum eos impetus turbinis impellebat ; fluctuabant. Illuscescente uero die uentus eos uehemens ad portum unde exierant impellebat. Vespere autem cum iam portum introire cepissent, ecce manus domini super eos ; an ut peccatores flagellarentur nescio, an ut manifestarentur opera dei in illis. Ventus enim ualidus quasi proram percussit, et eos iterum in altum reiecit. Motus etiam tantus factus est in mari, ut in comparatione iminentis miserie ; illam quam biduo sustinuerant nullam reputarent. Insurgunt itaque totis uiribus et clamore ualido ad inuicem se cohortantur, alique aliis succedentes dum paululum sompno uel cibo refecerint ; ad nouos iterum labores reuertuntur utpote quibus res pro anima est. Denique cum diutius inani labore uires in uentum consumerent ; inualescente tempestate uiribus ipsi succumbunt. Si timuerint si doluerint denique si desperauerint, norunt illi qui maris iniurias experti sunt. Leuauerunt igitur uocem suam et fleuerunt, quia cum clamassent ad dominum non erat qui exaudiret. Et sedentes, unicum doloris sui remedium ; mortem expectabant. Resonabat clamor et ululatus multus dum se inuicem respicientes ultimum uale alterutrum impendebant. In huiusmodi tota nox illa cum die sequente consumpta est. Verum inclinata iam die ad prefatam insulam iterum deuecti | sunt. Cumque ad terram propius accederent nauem ibidem impingere disponebant ; saltem anime sue consultum iri cupientes. Nondum autem complacuit domino in eis, set adhuc manus eius extenta. Nempe ui uentorum iam mutata ; nauis itidem conuersa est retrorsum. Aura tamen paululum leniori tota nocte nauigantes ad portum qui dicitur Eluerthecumba directe tendebant. Mane facto iam in portu applicuissent, nisi uenti et mare odio quodam insaciabili persequerentur fugientes. Nam cum diutius circa portum laborassent, uentus ueniens ex aduerso eos a terra longius abduxit ; ita ut eam amplius non uiderent. Mirabilis et miserabilis conflictus hominum et elementorum. Tociens morti addicti, totiens a morte reuocati ; quid ultra iam facerent ignorabant. Labor continuus uires eorum exhauserat, manusque dissolutas ad requiem inuitabat. Quippe

|fo. 73b.

[*Note*.— William de Mareis or de Marisco, son of Geoffrey de Marisco, justiciar of Ireland, was outlawed in 1235. Joined by others, he occupied Lundy Is. and lived by piracy until his capture in 1242. (*Royal Letters*, I, 470, II, 15, 16. *Matt. Paris Chron.* Maj III, 327, 497, IV, 193, 195.)]

|fo. 74.

[Ilfracombe, co. Devon.]

iam quinta dies hec erat, ex quo nocte ac die requiem non habebant. Deposito itaque malo ueloque soluto iterum ut prius per undas collidentes fluctuabant; aeris clementiam expectantes. Hora erat quasi sexta. Et ecce noua quedam densitas emersit a latere, que paululum succrescens plurimum iam aeris spacium occupauerat. Hanc primus omnium magister nauis intuitus signum in ea procelle maioris agnouit. Sollicite uero socios hoc latere curauit, ne forte turbati et conterriti minus caute se agerent; nauemque submergerent. Precepit igitur omnibus et per nomen domini districte adiurauit; ut singuli pallio capud inuoluerent, et proni iacentes dominicam orationem aliquociens decantarent. Quod et factum est. Cumque diutius orationem protraherent; ecce uentus turbis et spiritus procelle, qualis non fuerat a die quo nauem ascenderant usque ad diem illum. Ad cuius fragorem attoniti caput erexerunt, et uidentes sic; admirati sunt, conturbati sunt, commoti sunt; tremor apprehendit eos. Et exclamauerunt simul omnes, dissona quidem uoce; set unanimi corde. Minus uero attenderunt quid dicerent; quam quid sentirent. Quidam etiam eorum nescio quid stridendo resonabant, quod simpliciores fratres nomen dei ineffabile dicunt; nescientes quod non sit aliud nomen sub celo in quo nos oporteat saluos fieri, nisi tantum Iesus; quod est nomen super omne nomen. Non tamen hoc illis reputo ad infidelitatem, quod simplicitas extorsit per timorem. Quid enim non faciet homo sub mortis periculo constitutus? Alii interim sanctum clamabant Nicholaum. Alii sanctum Thomam martirem; ille hunc iste illum sanctum inuocabat, prout sua deuotio quemlibet excitabat. Et hoc quidem sepe et multum, set non erat qui adiuuaret. Tandem unus eorum qui ante dies paucos Wigorniae fuerat, et uiderat gloriam dei super his qui infirmabantur; sic ceteros allocutus est. Multa mirabilia facit deus per seruum suum sanctum Wlstanum. Voueat ei obsecro quisque uestrum aliquod seruitium in hoc anno. Confido enim in domino; quod per merita illius a periculo mortis huius liberabimur. Et apprehensum denarium digitis complicit; dicens. Voueo me et denarium istum domino meo sancto Wlstano. Similiter et omnes fecerunt. Mirares. Adhuc illis denarium in manu tenentibus; omnis illa densitas aeris dissoluta, omnis illa commotio sedata est; ac si in ollam feruentem aquam frigidam inmisisses. Illi ergo cum uidissent hoc signum glorificabant deum laudantes et dicentes quia si mirabiles elationes maris; mirabilis et in altis dominus. Preterea quod pene pretermiseram; alia quedam angustia omnibus angustis incompara-

bilis miserabiliter miseros cru | ciabat. Estus quippe erat, et aqua | *fo. 75.*
 quam secum tulerant iam ante biduum difecerat in uasis suis.
 Unde magis sitis ardore quam laboris immensitate et ipsi defecerunt.
 Set nec in hoc defuit eis miseratio diuina; que seruos suos in tribu-
 latione positos se inuocantes exaudire consuevit. Primum enim
 super eos tanta pluuię descendit inundatio; ut a uestimentis suis
 aquam exprimerent, que et sitim extinguere; et laborantes
 refocillare sufficeret. Secuta est e uestigio ut diximus et aeris et
 maris tranquillitas. Unde uehementer gauisi et quasi de salute
 securi; malum erexerunt, uelum appendentes; et eadem die ad
 portum qui Berdestapele proximus est feliciter applicuerunt. Ubi
 uero terram attigerunt, statim uota soluētes quidam sanctum [Barnstaple,
 co. Devon.]
 uisitaturi Wlstanum Wigorniam ire perrexerunt; alii suas obla-
 tiones ferendas miserunt. Venientes igitur Wigorniam cum
 oblacionibus et gratiarum actione; hec omnia nobis retulerunt.
 Cum autem tam insigne miraculum conuentui diuulgatum fuisset;
 cum cleri et plebis non modica multitudine in ymnis et laudibus
 signis interim pulsantibus Christo laudum preconiā persoluerunt;
 qui solus est deus gloriosus et mirabilis in sanctis suis. Recordare
 igitur et nostri sanctissime pater et pastor Wlstone, quoniam in te
 post dominum et eius genitricem semperque uirginem Mariam spera-
 mus; ad te confugimus, ad te oculos nostros die nocteque extolli-
 mus; non derelinquas pauperrimum ouile inter seculi huius pro-
 cellas naufragari, set deprecare pro eo apud clementissimum
 dominum nostrum Iesum Christum; et eandem misericordiam nobis
 exhibe quam te inuocantibus exhibuisti, eripiens nos a peccatis
 et malis omnibus et inimicis uisibilibus et inuisibilibus; et in futuro
 | *fo. 75b.*
 ad regnum celorum perducere digneris, prestante domino nostro
 Iesu Christo; cui honor et gloria per omnia secula seculorum amen.

De quodam muto a natiuitate curato.

II. Humane miserie deus pater condolens coeternum sibi filium
 per naturam misit in mundum; ut de filiis tenebrarum lucis filios
 per suam ineffabilem efficeret gratiam. Veniens itaque mediator
 dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus; seruos peccati, filios dei
 per adoptionem effecit; amicosque suos illos nuncupauit. Vos
 autem dixi amicos; quia omnia que audiui a patre meo nota feci
 uobis. Hos ergo per partes totius mundi dirigens Abrahe filiis non ex
 ancilla set libera natis, prestantes patronos et inexpugnabiles patrie
 defensores prebuit. Ex quorum collegio omni honore uenerandus
 St. John xv.
 15.

[Sandon, co.
Hertford]

[fo. 76.

Christi confessor Wlstanus pater monachorum precipuus uelut lucifer inter poli sidera ; sic dum uixit in corpore per diuersa refulsit orbis spacia. Pollent namque eius uirtutum merita, circumquaque ipsius largiuntur beneficia ; ut in consequenti liquebit miraculo. In comitatu de Herefordia apud uillam que uocatur Sandona erat puer quidam quasi duodennis Clemens nomine surdus et mutus a natiuitate ; et successor infaustus hereditatis paterne. Defunctis enim parentibus ipsius dominus fundi hereditatem ipsius tanquam ad se deuolutam propter heredis muti inpotentiam ne dicam indignitatem ; in usus suos conuertit. Sicut uulgo dicitur muto non est successio in hereditate. Hinc dolor cognatis, hinc uniuersis planctus consanguineis ; dolentibus quod hereditas eorum uersa est ad alienos, et domus illorum ad extraneos. Et quia contra manum domini tutum non est pugnare, et medicorum experimentis uti non securum ; ex necessaria consecutione iudicant sibi oportunum ad solum diuinum confugere medicamentum. Set peccatis suis prepedientibus ad diuinum adiutorium precibus suis aditum timent preclusum. Cogitant quis preces suas inferat, quis faciem mediatoris pro eis assumat ; et dignus sit exaudiri pro sua reuerentia. Venit eis in cor beatus et gloriosus Christi confessor Wlstanus, et bene complacet eis in illo ; qui nulli deest inuocanti eum in ueritate, qui omnibus succurrit in oportunitatibus in tribulatione ; qui communiter omnibus assistit in omni necessitate, dummodo a contritis inuocatus fuerit cum deuotione. Communicato igitur consilio ; mittunt eum Wigorniam, non quod arbitrentur sanctum Christi confessorem magis in remotis quam in propinquis posse partibus ; set ut ibi inuocetur deuotius, ubi steterunt pedes eius. Assignant ei interpretem et ducem fratrem suum minorem, et etate iam quasi nouennem. Aggrediuntur iter noui pedites circa Purificationem beate Marie uirginis, et de paucis multas numerantes dietas ; uix in cena domini iter consummant arreptum. Sanctam Wigornensem intrant ecclesiam, tot sanctorum reliquiis gloriosam ; tot miraculorum fulgore preclaram, et diuini dignitate respectus incomparabiliter nobilitatam. Ad gloriosi confessoris Christi Wlstani tumulum accedunt, et custodibus illius sue peregrinationis causas exponunt. Admittuntur, tumultu applicantur ; per totum illud penale triduum inseparabiliter ei adherentes. Quorum imperfectum ecclesia in se pietate materna transuens ; non destitit pro eis orare, donec exaudiretur pro sua reuerentia. Sicut et olim dolens mater de finibus Týri et Sidonis egressa, non timuit cum domino disputare pro filia, ratione quidem improba ; sed oratione deuota,

St. Matt. xv.
21.

non desistens donec audiret. Mulier magna est fides tua; fiat tibi sicut uis. Illuxit sacre Resurrectionis dies sollempnis, misero illo paciente adhuc pernoctante in tenebris et in umbra mortis; quia nondum illuxit ei sol gratie |salutaris. Agitur festiua sollempnitas in condensis usque ad cornu altaris. Et ecce respectus dei desuper, qui semper respicit in orationem humilium et non spernit precem eorum; qui ex toto corde querunt illum. Dormitante enim puero infirmo in sacro illo post *Agnus Dei* silentio; uidebatur ei quedam reuerenda assistere persona, que in tali habitu ut postmodum asserebat; quali et episcopus tunc sacra missarum celebrabat sollempnia. Dicebatque ei digitorum lingua qua muti omnes deserti sunt necessitate coactiua; ut de aqua benedicta que retro maius altare reponitur biberet, et curaretur. Expergiscitur ad hec signa; et custodi tumbe signo digitorum loquens peciit sibi aquam dari. Credens ille ad sitim sedandam hoc illum exposcere; misit quemdam qui de lauatorio monachorum potum ei portaret et uas porrexit. Quod puer mutus intelligens; signis iterum intercurrentibus peciit, ut de aqua retro altare potum ei darent. Quod et intellectum et factum est. Concurreruntque deo disponente aque potatio, et ite¹ missa est modulatio. Subsecutumque est classicum quod in presolempnibus diebus fit pulsatione omnium signorum. Et aperiente clauis Daudid qui claudit et nemo aperit, aperit et nemo claudit; aperte sunt aures patientis, et solutum est uinculum lingue eius; non per interualla et certas interpolationes temporum sicut alias de surdo et muto factum fuerat per sanctum Wlstanum, sed simul et semel ad terrorem classici attonitus respiciebat; et uoce sonora set aliquantulum informi bene tamen intelligibili exclamabat. Sancta Maria, Sancte Wlstone, sancte Clemens. Accurrunt propter tonitruum clamoris longe positi, acclamant propter tam manifestum miraculum propinqui; accenduntur in deuotionem et |gratiarum actionem uniuersi et singuli. Itur |fo. 77- interim ab episcopo in uestiarium; nunciatur ei exuto pontificalibus¹ tantum miraculum. Accurrit et ipse non tanquam leuis ad spectaculum, sed instar Daudid salientis ante archam; digito dei debitum faciens applausum, et rei certe inquisiturus indicium; factaque diligenti inquisitione per se et alios super principali, et eius circumstanciis; post sollempnem in crastino processionem deo gratias reddidit, et populo uniuerso rem a deo gestam eluculentissime declarauit; ut scribantur hec in generatione altera, et populus qui creabitur laudabit dominum; qui sic pre multis participibus

|fo. 76b.

cf. Ann.
Wig. 1220
(Ann. Mon.
iv. 412.)¹ Sic MS.

suis glorificat sanctum suum Wlstanum, cui honor et gloria ; in secula seculorum amen.

De quodam puero submerso per sanctum dei resuscitato.

12. Miracula que dominus deus noster per sanctissimum confessorem et antistitem Wlstanum in corpore positum operari dignatus est ; cotidie ad corroborandam fidem credentium confirmare dignatur, ille nunc exornans uirtutibus eius tumulum ; qui ¹ in eo operatus est cum esset in mundo. Et ille prebet per eum beneficia nunc Christianis, qui preordinauit tunc presulem gentibus perituris. Nemo ergo de anteactis uirtutibus dubitet, cum presentium signorum cernit munera dispensari ; cum uidet claudos erigi, cecos illuminari ; demones effugari, et alia queque morborum genera domino Iesu Christo et ipso mediante curari. Credimus ergo orantibus fidelibus quia etsi non potest paginam sermo incultus ornare ; faciet eam gloriosus et sanctissimus antistes Wlstanus preclarus uirtutibus et orationibus elucere. Parum est ² corrupti aeris curatas incommoditates si commoti maris sedatas tempestates ; si languentis orbis terre compressas referam ultiones, que ad inuocationem huius gloriosissimi celestis curie senatoris ; ita usque hodie obediunt, ut in nomine eius adiecta sola fide plerosque | uiderimus uel elementis uel mortibus impetrasse. Referam quod supergestum tota uicinia teste non siletur. Erat quedam mulier apud Wich prolis numerositate fecunda, quorum minimus etate quasi bimus cum fraterculis suis prouectioris aliquantulum etatis in pomerium egressus est ut luderet. Hic gressu titubante et pede gradiens non firmo ; inclinauit se ut caderet ; et cecidit in puteum qui erat in remotioribus pomerii partibus ; aqua plenus usque ad summum. Consummato ludo redeunt pueruli ; matris se presentantes aspectui. Quibus conuentis super absentia fratris sui minimi, et se de illo nichil scire respondentibus ; currit mater curiosa, filii uteri sui non existens obliuiosa ; currit, querit ; set non inuenit quem diligit anima sua. Transiens tandem iuxta puteum ; et corde presago prospiciens in illum, supernatare uidit oram uestimenti filii sui ; et extincto puero non mouebatur aqua. Abstrahens ergo puerum et deprehendens uere esse defunctum ; humi deponit illum, obriguerant enim omnia membra eius ; et erant liuida sicut plumbum. Que dolens et anxia, et quid ageret ignara ; commota sunt quippe uiscera eius super filio suo, horribili clamore repleuit aures totius uicinie. Con-

[fo. 77b.
[Droitwich,
or Wick
Episcopi,
co. Worc.]

¹ The hand changes at this point.

² Sic MS. "si corrupti" seems to be intended.

uenientibus ergo uicinis et ad tam subitum clamorem attonitis; postquam de causa clamoris fuerant edocti, ipsi uehementius clamantes fere tocius uille populum conuenire fecerunt in unum. Mater igitur accipiens puerum in manibus, detulit eum in domum. Astitit cum aliis et sacerdos parrochialis, cui forte ex inspiratione diuina subiit in mentem; quam gloriose operatur per merita sancti sui Wlstani, et uociferans exclamauit. Plicetur denarius ultra capud defuncti, et metiatur ad beatum Wlstanum; si forte respiciat deus et relinquat post se benedictionem, et mirificet sanctum suum in oculis omnium nostrum. Ad quam uocem accensi omnes in deuotionem sancti, genibus flexis et ubertim fusis lacrimis pedes domini recumbentis oculorum lauant irriguis et unguentis liniunt sacre deuotionis. Interim plicatur denarius, et mox metiri ceperunt puerulum; cepit labia mouere, et quasi reuiuiscere. Quidam etiam fauces aperiens, que dentibus collisis firmitus coheserunt; aquam que interiora repleuerat et spiritum uiuificantem interceperat, exire coegit; puero per pedes suspenso. Postquam igitur aqua decurrente puer detumuerat; et ad ignem infrigidata confota fuerant, omnibus in orationem persistentibus cepit puer oscitare; et anima redeunte singula membra mouere. Attollitur clamor in celum, et diuinis laudibus ora replentur uniuersorum; qui sic glorificat sanctum Wlstanum ante faciem omnium populorum. Decursis postea ⁱⁱⁱⁱ^{or} uel quinque septimanis; detulit mater Wigorniam puerum suum rediuuium, ut sisteret eum domino; et ut offerret pro eo secundum uota que distinxerunt labia eius. Comitabantur etiam cum ea clerici et laici; uiri fide digni. Qui super tumultum sancti Wlstani iuramento corporaliter prestitum; sic se rem habere sicut pre-enarratum est asseruerunt. Conuentus igitur Wigornie cum clero urbis et populo post fidem sibi factam de tanto miraculo; hostiam uociferationis optulerunt domino, qui sic operatur in sancto suo.

[fo. 78.]

De puero qui uisum per sanctum Wlstanum recepit.

13. Mulier quedam de Gloucestria cum filio suo paruulo orandi desiderio Wigorniam uenit, factoque propter quod uenerat; redire perrexit. Cum autem apud Teokesbiriā hospitio se recepisset, tum causa debilitatis tum paupertatis; aliquamdiu ibi demorata est. Medio uero tempore filius suus uisum oculorum amisit, palpebre clause et quasi conglutinate intuentibus apparebant; oculi intumescebant, et sanguis, uelud coagulatus circa palpebras eius insidebat. Anxius est in eo pre dolore spiritus eius. Unde

[Gloucester.]

[Tewkesbury]

| fo. 78b.

matri instantissime supplicauit, ut eum ad sanctum Wlstanum gratia recuperande sanitatis reduceret. Quod et fecit. Quo preuenta cum filio; uigiliis et orationibus | assiduis operam dabat, deprecans dominum et sanctum suum; ut filius suus uisum reciperet. Nec fuit uana deprecatio eius assidua. Aderat nox celebris apostolorum Philippi et Iacobi, et mulier cum filio more solito ad tumbam sancti Wlstani accessit. Erat quippe cor eius fiduciam habens in domino; et in sancto suo. Puer etiam prope tumbam se collocans more pueri beatum deprecabatur Wlstanum; ut sibi uisum restitueret, matre nichilominus pulsante ad aures misericordie. Exaudiuit ergo deus uocem pueri; de loco in quo erat. Nec mora puer obdormiuit et expergefactus uidit; cernensque ymaginem beati Wlstani coram tumba depictam osculabatur eam, matri denuntians ut beatum Wlstanum osculari properaret. Cui mater, Videsne fili? At ille, Video. Et sanus factus est puer; ex illa hora. Hec ita se habere monachi quamplures et ecclesie seruientes qui puerum predictum ut prelibauimus cecum uiderant testimonium perhibebant; et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eorum.

De quadam muliere que sancti Wlstani pannum per negligenciam suam combussit.

| fo. 79.

14. Aduenerant Wigorniam peregrinationis gratia mulieres quamplurime deferentes lucernas ardentis in manibus suis, ad honorem dei et sancti sui; que cum coram tumba beati Wlstani uigiliis et orationibus incumberent; longi itineris labore pregrauate, positae super tumbam luminaribus dare sompnum oculis et palpebris dormitationem satagebant; uni tamen earum deputantes custodiam luminum, ne forte ignis succensus in furore suo; rebus adiacentibus inferret dispendium. Cum autem nox in suo cursu medium iter perageret, mulier cui tutela luminum commissa fuerat necessitate compulsa fores ecclesie egressa est; ausu temerario candelas fortuito committens euentui. Et ut neglecta solent incendia sumere uires; una candelarum dum aberat cecidit, et lineum pannum quo tumba operiebatur ex parte conflagrauit. Nec mora mulier reuersa, | dampnum quod per incuriam suam acciderat reperto; quid facto opus esset, secum deliberauit. Arripiensque lignum super quod candelabrum stabat cum cereo, dampnum celeriter operuit; sola sibi conscia facti conscientia. Mane uero facto ad propria cum sociis rediit, processu temporis obliuiscens tradens dampnum quod acciderat. Cui beatus Wlstanus nocte quadam in uisione apparuit,

precipiens ut dampnum panni sui sibi recompensaret; minas pretendens nisi iussioni sue obtemperaret. Nec fuit uana iusti uiri iussio commendanda. Mulier enim uisionem quam uiderat deuoto pariter et celeri mancipauit effectui, pannumque decenter operatum secum Wigorniam detulit. Quo oblato super tumbam eo ordine quo queque gesta fuerant, tumbario et aliis circumstantibus enarrauit; tumbario insuper dampno reperto fidem dictis adhibente. Erat etiam exhibitio operis; perspicuum experimentum ueritatis.

De quodam puero mortuo per sanctum Wlstanum resuscitato.

15. Gloriosi confessoris Wlstani miracula iam per orbem terrarum uniuersa conclamat ecclesia. Nam in omnem terrarum exiuit sonus eorum. Manifestisque miraculorum testimoniis est probatum, quanti sit meriti apud deum; et quante miserationis ad omnes qui intocant illum. Nullus enim qui fidem habeat et fiduciam iuste petitionis apud illum patitur repulsam, cuiuscumque sit sexus uel conditionis; cuiuscumque labii uel etatis, quocumque genere labore aduerse ualitudinis. Cumque aduersus hec non possint mutire, qui etiam bene gesta ponunt in contradictione; adhuc subsannant et detrahunt, et dente canino eius opera corrodunt; et quod omnino destruere non possunt, minuere moluntur. Vulgaria esse dicentes et plebana et quibuslibet sanctis communia; que per ipsum fiunt miracula. Set ad ipsos confutandos et omnium delatorum dentes retundendos¹ ueniat in medium illud gloriosum et sollempne miraculum, quod de Iohanne filio Hugonis de Pectonia factum fuit, in conspectu multarum gentium. Erat in prouincia Sa|lopesbirie iuuenis quidam mediocris substantie Hugo de Pectonia nomine de uilla de Pectonia. Hic de Emma uxore sibi desponsata unicum suscepit filium nomine Iohannem agentem iam infantie sue annum tertium. Fuitque regnum Anglie deo fauente pacificatum, expulso Lodouico Philippi Francorum primogenito, qui illud undequaque contractis copiis libidine regnandi inuaserat. Conflabantque incole lanceas suas in falces et gladios suos in uomeres, agente iam glorioso et illustri Anglorum rege Henrico tercio annum regni sui quintum. Ibantque passim possessiones suas repetitum, qui turbato regno uiolenter eiecti; latebras fouerant uiolentie cedentes uispilionum. Inter quos et memoratus Hugo curiam adiuit regiam possessiunculam suam repetiturus; qua fuerat circumscripto iudicio destitutus. Et quia de partibus Wigornie oriundus,

[1221, cf. Annals of Worcester, An. Mon. iv. 413.]

[Petton, co. Shropshire.]
[fo. 79b.]

[1220-21.]

¹ Sic MS. for "retundendos."

[fo. 80.

apud Pectoniam accola fuit et aduenticius; uxorem suam cum paruulo memorato Wigorniam mittit, ut ibi interim uictitetur secunda; donec recuperata possessione letus reuertatur ad propria. Egerat iamdicta uxor eius apud Wigorniam dies octo, cum ecce puer eius infirmatus; ingrauescente morbo per alios octo dies, properare uidebatur ad exitum. Hugo autem pater suus una die preuenit moribundum, negociis suis in curia regis expeditis ad uotum. Excipit uirum suum mulier officiosa, nescio utrum de saluo eius reditu letior; an de imminente filii sui morte tristior. Sic contrariis affectibus distrahitur, sic diuersis passionibus affligitur; sic lacrimis ubertim decurrentibus utrobique se pati testatur. Sicut enim tristitia sic et passiones suas habet letitia, nec minus lacrimarum profluuium se cor probat per tristitiam compressum; quam per gaudium dilatatum. Ille uim sibi faciens, et a uirtute uirum se probare contendens; consolatur lugubrem, non admittens ipse consolationem; confortat tristem, tristis ipse usque ad mortem. Hilaritate uultum induit, set mox sin | gultus erumpens; cordis habitum prodit, amplexibus et oculis gaudium simulat; set deducens lacrimas oculus dolorem manifestat. Sic in sompnis nox protrahitur, et diei sequentis pars magna decurrit. Appropinquante autem iam hora sexta; puer ultimum exsufflauit spiritum. Tunc itum est in lacrimas et lamenta, et quasi nichil fuisset actum; noui decurrunt riui lacrimarum. Miro enim affectu parens uterque ducebatur in puerum quippe quem habebant unicum; et quem membrorum liniamenta et decor uultus reddiderant speciosum. Accurrunt uicini ad insolita lamenta, exhibentes et ipsi premature morti lacrimarum libamina. Erant enim ualde compacientes, et super afflictos pia gestantes uiscera; et ideo se continere non poterant. Suadent tamen ut detergis lacrimis de filii sepultura cogitent quod solum superest set non persuadent. Immo pater hiis commonitoriis tanquam malleo percussus, mortuum suum quasi furibundus arripiens; domo exilit, timorem spectantibus non mediocrem incutiens; igneis oculis omnes quibus obuiam uenit conspiciens, et horribili clamore celum replens. Nec hoc sicut uirum deceret maturo gressu; set prepete cursu. Subsequitur sponsum mulier non minus furibunda, brachiis protensis rictu patulo; uoceque clamorosa. Et citato cursu uirum transgreditur, conuexisque brachiis filium mortuum uiolenter amplectitur; et patri abripere molitur. Quo uir inquit iure¹ exute properas? Quo uiscera mea crudelis asportas? Num quid te cum filio dabis in precipitium,

¹ Alteration in MS. Reading uncertain.

ut tibi sit et illi idem Sabrina sepulchrum? Annon satis est perdidisse filium, nisi superaddam perdere et maritum? Nam ignorabat que esset currentis intentio, et que eum urgeret diuinitus inspirata deuotio. Trahitur puer exanimis a pie impiis parentibus, et non minus crudeliter quam inhumane tractatur. Imitatur defunctus formam saltatoris, dum inter manus distrahentium nunc capite deorsum pendente quasi manibus uehitur; nunc capite sursum reiecto quasi sublimis graditur, nunc brachiis hac illacue depen | dentibus modos iaculatorios uariare uidetur. Concurrit | *fo. 80b.* populus stat, dolet, miseratur, funibus magis opus esse credens ad alligandum; quam rethoricis persuasionibus ad consultius agendum. Inter quos nec unus inuenitur pectoris tam duri, nec cordis tam lapidei; qui madidas non habeat maxillas, qui totus non decurrat in lacrimas. Crescente dolore, misero crescebant uires marito; qui extorto de manibus mulieris mortuo, in cimiterium quod prope erat prosiliit; cursuque ueloci ecclesiam adiit, et transitis gradibus coram sepulchro gloriosi confessoris Christi Wlstani defunctum proiecit. Custodes ecclesie adueniunt, quid sibi sic ueniens uelit; inquirunt. Ecce inquit domino meo sancto Wlstano filium meum optuli suscitandum. Hinc non efferendum; nisi rediuuium. Nec diffido inquit sanctum Wlstanum hoc posse; cum certus sim patrem misericordiarum nichil illi uelle negare, quod instituerit exorare. Annon hoc potest in meo, quod potuit in mortuo clerici | *[Vide cap. 12 supra.]* de Wichio? Numquid est manus eius abbreviata, uel potestas eius apud deum euacuata? Absit. Immo sicut in perpetuo suo non destitit domino fideliter et instanter deseruire; sic deum credo in suo perpetuo illum eternaliter uelle remunerare, et pro sibi deuotis exaudire. Prostratusque coram sepulchro; diu orauit et deuote. Cuius fidei et deuotioni qui astabant gaudentes et miserie condolentes, et ipsi in deuotionem accensi sunt; et pro eo attente supplicauerunt, ut miserator et misericors dominus illi misericordie uiscera non clauderet; set meritis beati Wlstani illum in tribulationibus que inuenerunt eum nimis exaudiret. Monachi iam pransi cubitum ierant. Pater igitur iam non pater; consiliis astantium adquiescens, cutello fauces defuncti coherentes aperuit; et aquam benedictam sancti Wlstani deuotus infudit. Ad orationis iterum recurrit refugium, astantes deuotius hortans in id ipsum. Et post grande interuallum, cum pulsaretur signum ad excitandos fratres post sompnum meridianum; ecce respectus mise | *ricordie dei* | *fo. 81.* desuper, qui respexit in orationem humilium; et non spreuit prece[m] eorum. Remisitque in corpus defunctum quem sibi assumpserat

spiritum, uim sibi faciente sancto Wlstanu; quem congregare sibi fecit in regno paterno. Etenim regnum celorum uim patitur, et uiolenti diripiunt illud. Cumque flentes pariter et orantes intenderent in cadauer emortuum, ecce quasi ad anime reintrantis aduentum; mouere se uidebatur puer aliquantulum. Propius igitur et attentius oculos applicant et animum, deprehenduntque iam inesse spiritum. Set et liuore morticini depulso colorem et calorem caro resumit. Set et hoc fuit in hoc miraculo uehementer mirandum, quod puer qui per xv dies languerat, et consumpta carne et exhausto sanguine ossa pelli maritauerat; mox ut spiritum et animam resumpsit ita apparuit rubicundus, ita pedum et manuum et totius corporis gesticulatione iocundus; ita carnositate rotundus, ut non meminerint parentes eius sicut asseruerunt eum aliquando uidisse uegetiorem. Et hoc quidem dicere dignum et iustum est, ut ubi manus domini operatur; nichil desit ad perfectionem, ubi non expectatur potentior ad defectus suppletionem; uel sapientior ad emendationem. Scribantur hec in generatione altera; et populus qui creabitur laudabit dominum. Quia prospexit de excelso sancto suo, ut gloriosus appareat in famulo suo Wlstanu; dum non sit inuentus similis illi, quem eque magnificet in tanti fulgore miraculi. Quid pater et mater faciant, quos secundum multitudinem dolorum gloria opprimit nouorum gaudiorum? Numquid parui estimaret per filium rediuiuum nomen parentum recuperasse quem amiserant? Quid quod unicum? Quid quod elegantis forme speciosum? Quid quidem per sanctum Wlstanum, et per insolitum miraculum? Utrobique uero creuit eorum affectus in filium; et quia tam gloriosi confessoris fuit donum, et quia per tantum illum recipere meruerunt miraculum; a generatione in generationem cunctis seculis enarrandum. O parentum quam felix gaudium, tantis doloribus care comparatum. Omnis enim rei argumentum; per sui contrarii sumitur experimentum. | Sciuntque per documentum priuationis quam magni sit gaudii unice prolis habitus. Inuicem uero se docent priuatio et habitus. Tanta igitur nouitate stupefacti, et tanti gaudii subita mutatione perculsi; iterum ruunt in excessum, ut sit difficile iudicare que sit maior uiolentia tristicie; an ætietie. Non enim omnino minus nunc differunt ab insania pre gaudio; quam pridem differenter se habuerunt pre dolore nimio. Obliti namque qui fuerunt et ubi et quando minus modeste se gesserunt seculares hora meridiana; et coram sancto sepulchro, tanta fuit et clamosa in deum laudis confessio; tanta in sanctum Wlstanum gratiarum multiplicatio. Nec hoc solum a pueri paren-

tibus, et tunc presente populo; set ubicumque huius miraculi diffundebatur opinio. Resonabant ecclesie crepidines pre iubilo, et circumquaque Wlstanum reciproca resonabat eccho. Conuentus autem Wigornie ad primam huius miraculi recitationem licet magnam concepisset iocunditatem, non tamen instar harundinis ad primam uenti se mouit sibilationem; set sub modesta expectatione episcopi sui qui non longe aberat presentiam captabat, eius super tam ardua re usus consilio sicut decebat. Venit episcopus et consultus; decreuit huius rei districtam fieri examinationem, et per testium iuratorum fidelem depositionem. Vocati ergo pueri parens uterque hospitesque eorum coniugati, et ecclesie cathedralis seruientes et clerici; in uerbo uero testificabantur puerum quem nunc uidebantur uiuum coram sepulchro sancti Wlstani proiectum fuisse mortuum; et modo quo predictum est suscitatum. Nec suffecit hoc predicto episcopo; set a pueri parentibus et a fidei matrona eorundem hospita super sepulchrum sancti Wlstani corporaliter super hoc exegit sacramentum, in ore illorum trium testium iudicans firmiter stare hoc uerbum. Quorum licet fide fuerint digni, ideo testimonia credibilia facta sunt nimis; quia illud ausi fuerunt iurare super memoriam tanti confessoris. Ad maiorem etiam beati Wlstani gloriam, erant eadem die domino sic providente iusticiarii itinerantes in ipsa ecclesia episcopo permittente regni causas actitantes. Eratque miraculum tanto uulgatius tantoque sollempnius; quo maior ibi tunc fuit populorum concursus. Post sufficienter igitur omnibus factam fidem fecerunt monachi gaudentes et alacres a claustro in ecclesiam sollempnem processionem. Erat uero dies dominica, sequente conuentum ut moris episcopo suo mitrato. Finitaque antiphona processionali et facto silentio recitauit episcopus totius miraculi seriem, et postea a statione sua recedens, iusticiariis in occidentali parte ecclesie sedentibus et turbis circumstantibus; idem summatim enarrauit miraculum. Incipiensque uoce sonora *Te Deum laudamus*; cum omni populo processit ad altare sancti Wlstani deo gratias acturus. Nec est mee facultatis edicere quanta tunc fuerit omnium exultatio, quantaque in sanctum Wlstanum deuotio; cum id magis lateret in corde quam resonaret in ore. Manus tamen in celum protense, et ubertim defluentes lacrimae; satis indicabant manifeste, quod interius ineffabile. Gaude ergo Wigorniensis ecclesia, quam tantus confessor corporali dignatus est illustrare presentia, quam per illum tanta honorant miracula, quam protegunt et defendunt eius merita, cuius precibus nobis deus regna det celestia, amen.

[Bishop
William of
Blois.]

[fo. 82.]

De pugile exoculato et ementulato qui oculos et uirilia per sanctum Wlstanum recepit.

16. Gaude nobilis Anglia sanctorum meritis et memoriis incomparabiliter gloriosa. Que licet longo senio contabueris in ydolatria, licet salutari lauachro tarde fueris irrigata; licet domini saluatoris non fueris gressibus pressa, nec sanctorum apostolorum sacro onere onerata, audes tamen secundum quid; cum orientali ecclesia de paritate contendere, et quo ad miraculorum inauditam nouitatem altius aliquando capud extollere. Salua enim sanctorum apostolorum et martyrum reuerentia quibus nostrum nullo modo comparare presumpserim confessorem, quis unquam audiuit facta fuisse in oriente que deus pro sanctis suis in nostri operari dignatus est occidente? Oculis enim cecorum uisum infundere, mutis ad loquendum linguas mouere; claudis et contractis neruos ad incessum extendere, leprosis cutem mundare; et aliis membris non quidem perditis set debilitatis usum reparare, uel de nouo conferre; magnum quidem est, et uehementer mirabile. Set longe mirabilius quia omnino inusitatus¹ pro membris abscisis et usquequaque deperditis; noua restituere. Hac tamen speciali gratia et peculiali gloria deus Angliam totius orbis angulum pre omnibus terrarum regionibus dignatus est illustrare, et quadam dignitatis prerogatiua priuilegiare. Primo; in glorioso Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et martyre Thoma et nunc nostris temporibus in eque comparabili Wigorniensis confessore. Quod qualiter acciderit; ipso beatissimo confessore Wlstano suffragante et deo suam gratiam mihi donante; narrabo. Fuit in comitatu Gloucestrie in uilla de Trinleia quidam iuuenis Thomas nomine filius Estmeri de Nordweia hominis quidem libere conditionis; set substantie tenuis. Hunc cum sibi uix sufficeret; pater iam adultum a se pia seueritate propulsauit, ut alicui probo uiro deseruiens, sue consuleret necessitati; et addiscende intenderet curialitati. Adiit ille regni iusticiarium Galfridum filium Petri, certa spe confidens se ibi ad seruitium facilius admittendum; ubi maior esset familia domesticorum, nec alicui minus defuturum; quam ubi esset habundantia bonorum. Nec fefellit eum spes sua. Nam statim admissus; adhesit cuidam de aulicis, et gratiam familie sedulus sibi minister adquisiuit. Unde et in multis sibi lucrificans; in breui multa conguessit, tempore sationis eadem in benedictfione effusus; ut consequenter tempore messis procederet uberius collecturus. Post aliquot annos ibi in pecunie

| fo. 82b.

[Tirley, co. Glouc.]

[Northway, co. Glouc.]

¹ Sic MS. for "inusitatus."

uenationibus decursos natale solum adiit, patrem uisurus et patriam. Ibique aliquandiu commorans, ex perquisitis secularium more negociis; diuitias sibi sollicitus ascuiuit. Quod uidens domina sua uxor scilicet Roberti de Northweia, et ab illo sepius pecuniam mutuata; in ulteriorem adulterii familiaritatem illam¹ allexit, et per biennium | ueneris tenuit laqueis irretitum. Qui tandem dei | fo. 83. gratia preueniente compunctus; ostendit se sacerdoti. Cuius salubri fretus consilio; digne satisfecit pro commisso. Nec postea licet multum a dicta domina sua sollicitatus, et post obitum uiri sui ad nupcias prouocatus; deo se protegente reciduiuit. Immo post completam satisfactionem iniunctam iteratis uicibus usque quater a diuersis sacerdotibus confessus, nouam uoluntarius subiit satisfactionem; et plene compleuit. Predicta uero ueteris Eue filia dolens se contemptam et erubescens repulsam; mortales aduersus eum concepit inimicitias, ad horam more muliebri dissimulans; set iniuriarum suarum ultionem in tempus opportunum suspendens. Que diuturne uiduitatis pertesa, nupsit cuidam Georgio; astuto nimium et uersipellis² uiro. Ad cuius cum peruenisset noticiam sponsam suam cum dicto Thoma sub priore uiro fuisse adulteratam; suspitione torquebatur, et zelo succensus maritali; memoratum Thomam odio persequabatur inexorabili. Quadam igitur die cum ad ceruisiam uenalem conuenissent, et sobrietatis metas egressi ad sua redirent; Georgius Thomam methodo ductus preuenit, et obuius ei cum baculo magno illum nichil tale suspicatum percussit in capite; peiora comminatus. Thomas autem preter merita conquerens se percussus, modeste satis illum monuit; ut si ceruisia impellente id fecisset, hac uice contentus indemnis abiret. Si uero super dolorem uulneris sui adderet; non impune transiret. Georgius autem cuius ira non deferbuerat, illum super humerum sinistrum ictu repetito percussit; sicut malitiam non deponens. Thomas bis percussus excanduit, timensque ne si uim ui repelleret mortis periculum incurreret; securim super humeralem quam gestabat leuauit, ut Georgium feriret. Set casu fortuito ferrum securis ulterius quam proposuerat transiecit. Humerumque Georgii manubrio tantum sine lesione percussit. Set securim retrahendo cum posteriori cuspide brachium Georgii modicissime uulnerauit; usque ad sanguinis profluxum tamen. Transiliensque sepem scansilem qualis fieri | solet fieri inter uiam | fo. 83b. et semitam ad tutandas segetes; iter suum accelerauit. Georgius

¹ Sic, MS. probably error for "illum."

² Sic MS. for "uersipelli."

autem omnibus qui pretergrediuntur uiam de sanguinis sui effusione conquerens et auctorem uulneris diffamans ; rem aliter quam gesta fuerat enarrabat, se quidem innocenter uulneratum asserens ; Thomam autem regie pacis uiolatorem declamans. Et quia mala mulier numquam plene uirus exsudauit, quod prime matris auribus maliciosus serpens instillauit ; quin semper promptum et ad malum efficax in se inueniat consilium, uxoris sue usus consilio ; domum suam a qua non longe distabat festinans repetit, ibique cornuum mugitu uiciniam in fugituum concitauit ; mentiens Thomam sine respectu regie pacis domum suam uiolenter inuasisse, et catalla sua tanquam predonem nequiter asportasse ; sic domum suam defensanti mortiferum uulnus inflixisse. Affuit inter alios ad cornitium aduentantes Estmerus pater Thome horum penitus ignarus, filio suo interim ad domum suam quam sibi et heredibus suis in comitatu Wigornie apud Elderesfeld comparauerat ; fuge beneficio diuertente. Insurgunt igitur in Estmerum omnis illa congregatio uirorum tanquam in huius rei fauctorem et conscium, lorisque fortius alligatum ; Gloucestriam ducunt uicecomitique¹ tradunt, tenebroso carcere recludendum. Set tandem fide-iussoribus datis, et exhausto marsupio ; dimittitur. Thomas itidem filius eius multociens capitur, multociens per intercessionem curialium quibus deseruierat liberatur ; effusis circa hoc rebus omnibus et catallis. Postmodum cum defuncto rege Iohanne et coronato pro eo filio eius Henrico pax reddita fuisset Anglie, et iusticiarii per singulas regni prouincias destinarentur ad uindictam malefactorum laudem uero bonorum ; procedit Georgius inimiciarum non oblitus, et dictum Thomam coram iusticiariis appellat super uulnere nequiter inficto ; in pace dei et domini regis. Thomas uero cui iam non erat locus subterfugii, uulnus et omnia omnino obiecta : inficiauit. Duelloque res examinanda indicatur, et dies | decima ante Assumptionem Beate Uirginis Marie ad hoc prefigitur Wigornie. Conueniunt in campum die prefixo iusticiarii et plebs innumerosa sexus promiscui pugiles quoque cum armaturis suis preparati. Stat Georgius in multitudine fortitudinis sue confusus, et in monomachie disciplina agilis et expeditus. Stat ex aduerso Thomas in domino confidens, gloriosam dei genitricem Mariam et beatum Wlstanum in adiutorium sui deuotius inuocans ; preterita plangens, emendatiorem uitam promittens ; lacrimasque in id ipsum copiosius infundens. Post orationem completam congregiuntur uicissim, uulnerantur et uulnerant ; set in Thomam pessima semper queque declinant. Set

¹ Ralf Musard or his deputy, Decius de Eggeward.

[Eldersfield,
co. Worc.]

¶ fo. 84.
[Aug. 5,
1221.]

quanto magis grauatur ; tanto in maiorem sancti Wlstani excitatur deuotionem. Post multos tandem insultus Thomas multis attritus uulneribus a Georgio capitur, humi proicitur ; oculoque dextro fere eruto uictum se compulsus confitetur. Et odioso monomachie uerbo irreuocabiliter emissio ; exuuiis pugillaribus a uictore exuitur, et satis nudus in campo relinquitur. Cumque de consuetudine regni suspensione fuisset obnoxius, iusticiarii tamen misericordiam iudicio commiscentes, uirilium ementulatione et pariter exoculatione illum dignum iudicauere. Huius iudicii executionem propinquis et affnibus uictoris iniunxere. Qui libidine uindictæ magis quam amore iusticiæ coram iusticiariorum ministris ad hoc relictis, et multitudine curiose plebis ad tale spectaculum libenter affluentis ; unum oculorum statim et leuiter eruerunt. Alterum uero a Georgio ualde detritum cum magna difficultate, cum magna patientis anxietate ; uix et tandem effoderunt. Instrumentum exoculatorium bis uel ter preacuentes, et usque ad cerebrum illud maliciose trahicientes ; ut uitam cum uisu pariter extinguerent. Miser igitur Thomas nichil sibi residuum estimans, nisi ut mentis oculos ad deum leuaret ; semper et continue beatam Mariam et beatum Wlstanum uehementer clamans inuocabat. Apparitores autem rem crudeliter peragentes, pupillas effossas et neruis adhuc super faciem dependentes uidentibus multis presciderunt ; et in campum proiecerunt. | Testiculos nichilominus a follibus suis erutos et prescisos longius proiecerunt ; ita ut iuuentus lasciuia illos inter mulierculas huc illucque pedibus suis reciproce iactaret. Nec poterat huius rei ueritas populum latere ; que tam curiose uenerat rem uidere, nec circa rei exitum ut moris est uellet recedere. Apparitores etiam ut rem secundum quod iudicatum fuerat peragerent ; et timor iusticiariorum urgebat, et odium ne parcerent accendebat. Quod iccirco dixerim quia postmodum membris miraculose restitutis, multos uel malitia cogebat non credere ; uel stupor tanti miraculi fecit dubitare. Michi etiam et ipsi fateor super hoc surrepsit dubietas ; donec uiri fide digni qui huic facto intererant et oculis omnia uiderant, cum iuramento de corde meo omnis dubitationis deteraserant tenebras. Hiis igitur circa miserum Thomam miserabiliter peractis, abierunt quique in sua ; ipso semi- uiuo relicto. Volutat se miser in suo sanguine, qui a plagis impositis tanto fluxu decurrit, ut fere exanimis ibi supremum crederetur exsufflaturus spiritum. Verumptamen ne canibus ibidem deuorandus relinqueretur, ab aliquibus eius miseras miserantibus compulsus abducitur ; magis subportantium brachiis

[fo. 84b.]

quam suis pedibus adiutus. Excepit eum ab eorum ulnis mulier quedam misericorditer mota, et iniectum in sportam usque ad hospitalem sancti Wlstani illum fecit deportari. Quem cum fratres domus illius tanquam flagitiosum et sua cohabitatione indignum ducerent repellendum; ancille que illum illuc adduxerant sportam reuersantes, et miserum Thomam iuxta parietem proicientes; recesserunt. Sicque quem gratis non admiserunt; inuiti retinuerunt. O quam multe et quam miserande miseri huius miserie. O dolores soli patienti dicibiles. O angustie soli sentienti effabiles. Vulneribus attritus, doloribus et angustiis absortus; obprobriis et confusione satiatus, mundo uilis est et abiectus; suis etiam karissimis inuisus et despectus. Set tibi pie Iesu tibi derelictus est pauper, et quem mundus pater abicit pupillo tu eris adiutor, sic misericorditer puniens; ut iuste miserearis. Etenim uniuerse uie tue, misericordia | et ueritas. Qui enim oculos amiserat corporis, te domine illuminante qui illuminas omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum; apertos habet oculos mentis. Et eo fiducialius in te stabili figit oculos sue deuotionis; quo longius a se aufugisse uidet omnem spem seculi fallibilis et instabilis. Erat autem in illo hospitali mulier quedam Ysabel nomine, pauperum specialiter addicta obsequiis. Hec contra magistri sui et fratrum eiusdem loci prohibitiones dicti Thome curam egit; occulte autem propter metum eorum. Sic prospiciente deo, ut ubi habundauit miseria; superhabundaret misericordia, et ubi habundauit delictum; superhabundaret et gratia. Hec uacuas oculorum fossas a fecibus humorum illuc defluentium cotidie semisintiis¹ suis sollicitè purgabat, et uulneribus illius exemplo Samaritani mitigatiua et sanatiua procurabat. Decurrerunt in hiis tormentis dies octo, et illuxit dies nonus; ceci tenebras per dei gratiam illuminaturus uigilia sancte assumptionis uirginis Marie. Cumque in ecclesia cathedrali uespere sollempniter decantarentur, miser Thomas propter instantem sollempnitatem in nouam et feruentissimam acuitur deuotionem; misericordie matrem in sui aduocans miserationem. Ut que toti mundo subuenit; et eterne dampnationis illi tenebras abstersit, dum lumen diuine miserationis induxit; suas etiam temporales illuminare dignaretur, et secundum multitudinem dolorum suorum letificaret eum in multitudine consolationum suarum. Nec iam sicut pridem hesitans orabat et timidus; set noue supplicationis genus assumens postulauit in fide non ficta, et in spe firma; nichil¹hesitans, et de impetrandò

¹ For "semi-cinctiis."

St. Luke x.
33.

Aug. 14.

| fo. 85.

non fluctuans. O tu inquit gloriosa domina que hodie assumpta es in celum; ut quanto propius pro nobis interpellares; tanto apud filium tuum quod rogaris efficacius impetrares; que murum illum eneam destruxisti quem mater tua preuaricatrix inter nos erexit et deum, quominus peccatorum preces ad ipsum haberent accessum; Que beato fructu uentris tui nobis ligni uite compensasti pomum, quando Cherubin cum gladio igneo prohibente nobis erat interdictum; Que celi fenestra facta es; ut do | lentium et gementium clamores; ad dei misericordiam per te haberent ingressum, ora patrem uerbenatum; ut petitiones mee ad te in hac tua sollempnitate profuse, non abeant incassum; set meas sumat per te preces, qui pro nobis tulit esse tuus. Set nec beatus Wlstanus in hac sua tanta deuotione dormire permissus est uel dormire, quin et precibus lacrimosis et gemitibus clamoris; et suspiriis deuotis illum suscitarer ad miserendum, immo compelleret ad exaudiendum. Post multiplicatas igitur in hunc modum orationes, inmisit dominus soporem in Thomam adeo tamen tenuem, ut ignoraret an uigilaret uel dormiret. Et ecce domus tota inedicibili fulgore ei resplendere uidebatur. Quid in tanto fulgore superueniente non splenderet? Etenim teste Ezechiele, erat in medio similitudinis fulguris choruscantis splendor ignis; et de igne fulgur egrediens. Thomas gaudens se nouo amictus lumine et sine oculis posse uidere plusquam credi possit admirans; in lumen illud attentius intendit. Apparuit ei ueri luminis mater et perpetua uirgo Maria tanta claritate refulgens, quod nec auderet nec posset faciem eius intueri. Et enim plusquam cornuta ei uidebatur. Apparuit et cum ipsa set eius sequens uestigia beatus Wlstanus pontificalibus indutus, miro; set longe impari fulgore resplendens. Cumque lectulo eius appropinquarent, datis super eum benedictionibus suis transierunt; et transeuntes preterierunt. Thomas igitur ab extasi reuocatus; subito clamore omnes qui in domo erant perculit, sanctam Mariam et sanctum Wlstanum adesse proclamans; set aspere correptus tanquam pre angustia doloris demens effectus, et ideo in clamorem excitatus; conticuit. Cumque aliquandiu uigilans iacuisset, et de tam gloriosa uisione intra se cogitasset; ceperunt ei palpebre et omnia insuper uulnera que in duello susceperat tam uehementer prurire quod a scalpendo uix potuit manus continere. Vocata igitur memorata sorore petiit oculorum fossas et cetera uulnera sua lauare, ut uel sic suo consuleretur pruritui. Illa igitur ex deuotione obediens, solutis ligami | nibus quibus emplastrum medicinale | fo. 86. oculis eius appositum ligabatur; aquam parauit ad lauandum.

| fo. 85b.

Ezech. i. 14

Ille autem more impaciens et ad parietem se uertens iniectis digitis palpebras detraxit, ne nimis prepropere sanarentur; antequam fluxus humorum restringeretur. Et ecce sub ostio in cuius transuerso lectus eius fuerat collatus lumen subintrans contemplatur; stupet et miratur. Et sibi non credens, in excessum mortis sicut paulo ante raptum se suspicatur. Set oculos circumuoluens, omnia obiecta contuetur; manus admotas clare satis conspicatur. Et in latus aliud uersus plateam se uertens, transeuntes et circumstantias sicut olim aperte contemplatur. Prefatam igitur Ysabel qualiter sibi¹ fuit clamose proclamat, uidere se secure protestans. Accurrit illa, accurrunt et alie; et pre gaudio non possunt credere, Set certis indiciis et experimentis tandem didicere, quod res quas-cumque uisu potuit discernere. Propiusque accedentes nouas set modicas in fossarum profunditate contuentur pupillas; tanquam duas prunulas. Ad tanti autem miraculi probationem, et ad omnium qui Thomam ante exoculationem nouerant admirationem; quas uarias habuit ex natura, nigras recepit ex gratia. Creuerunt de die in diem; usque ad competentem quantitatem. Et ne gratie diuine aliquid esset imperfectum quin omnia restitueret in integrum; membra genitalia adiectis manibus sibi repperit et ostendit restituta. Quin immo omnia uulnera sua que quidem multa receperat in duello sicut eundem habuerunt medicum, ita curationis sue idem habuerunt momentum. Et ut tantum miraculum sui quidem magnitudine stupendum cresceret, autentico testimonio maiorum; contigit in hac huius rei recentia magistrum Benedictum Rofensem episcopum Wigorniam peregrinum aduenire, quasi de finibus terre audire sapientiam et uidere potentiam ueri Salomonis. Hic ad tanti miraculi relationem obstupuit; et commodo multorum dubitauit, cum apostolo Thoma proclamans; nisi uidero non credam. Ascensisque equis ad hospitale sancti Wlstan ubi sepe-dictus Thomas adhuc mansitabat, descendit ut uideret, utrum clamori referentium se rei ueritas conuadraret. Iussit ergo capellanum suum monachum licet propter uerecundiam renitentem, uirilia palpare; et ipsum si restituta essent | certificare. De oculis uero non erat dubitare, quod lippis et tonsoribus palam erat uidere. Quidni monachus obediret? Genibus flexis manus admouit; palpauit, et sic esse sicut relatum fuerat; exclamauit. Episcopus igitur pre gaudio lacrimas ubertim effundens; palpabo inquit et ego, non ut incredulitati mee satisfaciam; set ut tanti miraculi uerus et fidelis testis fiam. Palpauit, sic esse inuenit; et credidit.

[Benedict of
Sansetun
(1215-1226)]

| fo. 86b.

¹ "sibi" inserted in margin.

Quo facto, dedit gloriam deo ; et reascenso equo, ibat uiam suam gaudens. Sit igitur deo gloria et honor in seculum qui in ecclesia Wigorniensis tot et tanta operari dignatus est insignia uirtutum, per merita gloriose genitricis sue et perpetue uirginis Marie ; et sancti Wlstan et aliorum sanctorum in illa quiescentium, nec hanc gratiam suam ab ea subtrahat in sempiternum ; set per suam misericordiam adiciat etiam curationem animarum, ut nullius ibi preces fluant in uacuum ; quas cum deuotione pro salute sua fundunt, ad ipsum Iesum Christum dominum dei filium qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum.

Note.—Entries relating to this story are found in the Coram Rege Roll, Henry III, no. 13, and an Assize Roll relating to the same eyre (printed by F. W. Maitland, *Pleas of the Crown in the County of Gloucester*, pp. 21, 22, case 87. See also editor's note on p. 141). Owing to two confusing postscripts in Roll B (the Assize Roll which the editor regards as of lesser authority) it would appear uncertain whether the duel took place at Worcester or at Hereford. The account above removes all doubt on this point and also shows that the champion mentioned in the Worcester and Tewkesbury Annals is Thomas of this case, a point on which Maitland felt some uncertainty.

De puero qui habuit spinam dorsi confractam per sanctum Wlstanum curato.

17. Sanctorum patrum gloriosa gesta reuoluere, catholicis lectoribus esse salubre ; dupplici arbitror ratione. Prima ut ipsi de sanctorum conuersatione tanquam de quodam fontis riualo populo sicienti quedam uite pocula possunt propinare. Ait enim Salomon. Seruans semitas iustitie, et uias sanctorum custodiens ; intelliget iustitiam et iudicium et semitam bonam. Secunda audita miracula uel inspecta cum summa diligentia intelligentibus expedit stilo assignare ; et posteritati commendare. Cum scriptum sit ; patres ea enarrabant filiis suis, que operatus est dominus in diebus antiquis. Unde inbecillitate ingenioli mei penes me ipsum considerata ; erubesco ne petenti satisfacere succumbam. Malo uero materiam soloecismis aggredi ; quam uinculum dilectionis dirumpere. Hiis igitur angustiis circumuallatus, elegi rusticano eloquio mei familiaris in quantum uires mee suppetunt ; occurrere desideris. Erat igitur quidam clericus uxoratus nomine Yuo in ecclesia sancti Petri apud Northwichiam ministrans, habens filium quasi duodenarium quem ab uxore sibi copulata suscepit. Erat puer uultu decorus, dulcis eloquio, ingenioque nitens. Cum autem a parentibus suis literarum studiis traderetur, cepit ut puer bone indolis audita

Prov. ii. 8.

[Northwick
co. Worces-
ter.]
[fo. 87.]

Prov. x. 1.

reoluere; et tenaci memorie commendare. Videns itaque pater tantam in filio karissimo sensus florere ingenuitatem, gaudis est; illud Salomonis sepiissime secum reuoluendo, filius sapiens gloria est patris. Cum autem puer quadam die cum coetaneo suo ante hostium cuiusdam diuitis ludis indulgeret, ipse super ostium leuitate puerili cum creta quam in manu gestabat figuras cepit protrahere. Videns autem hoc filius diuitis indignatus est; baculumque arreptum in dorsum pueri cum graui impegit assultu, ita ut spinam dorsi infringeret. Accurrunt parentes, puerum pene exanimem suscipiunt; largis lacrimarum humectationibus facies suas irrigantes, lecto decumbunt. Interea tantus dolor parentes de tam nefando facto inuasit; ut consolationem a nemine recipere, neque luctu neque precibus super continuo dolore pueri potuissent. Cum uero quadam nocte pater sopori membra dedisset, in uisione nocturna per beatam uirginem Mariam admonitus est, ut ad ecclesiam Wigorniensem in qua sanctus requiescit Wlstanus sub omni celeritate gressus tenderet; quia illic sanitatem filius eius per merita sancti Wlstani esset recepturus. Quod dum presbitero suo parrochiano necnon et alii uiro religioso retulisset, consilio eorum fretus per diuersa locorum diuerticula; ad memoratam ecclesiam tandem peruenit. Ubi dum aliquanto tempore pro reddenda filii sospitate diuinum inuocaret auxilium; sanitati restitutus est. Cum autem mane tam insigne miraculum memorate ecclesie monachis ibidem deo famulantibus diulgatum fuisset, cum non modica cleri et plebis caterua in ymnis et laudantibus signis interim pulsantibus; Christo laudum preconia persoluerunt, qui tot et talia precibus gloriose uirginis uirginum domine nostre sancte Marie et meritis beatissimi pontificis Wlstani et aliorum sanctorum ibi quiescentium; infirmis remediorum munera ministrare dignatus est. Agamus grates domino deo nostro innumeras, qui per merita sanctorum suorum in ecclesia Wigorniensi talia nobis dignatur ostendere miracula. Summopere itaque fratres et domini ille deus laudandus est atque glorificandus, qui sanctos suos ita glorificat; ut a filiis Ade pro suorum beneficiis meritorum uenerentur, quamdiu firamenti huius rota uoluitur. Ipsum equidem dominum corde et ore postulemus, ut intercessione sanctissimi confessoris et episcopi Wlstani de quo in presenti loquimur illud premium nobis donare dignetur quod oculus non uidit, nec auris audiuit; nec in cor hominis ascendit, quod preparauit deus diligentibus se. Quod nobis concedat trinus et unus deus, qui uiuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum.

|fo 87b.

De quodam uiro qui muneribus honorauit sanctum Wlstanum a uinculis liberatus est.

18. Quidam etiam uenit in spiritu in ecclesiam et uidens gloriam dei honorauit sanctum Wlstanum de cereo uno et de pane quem distribuit pauperibus qui circa tumbam eius excubabant. Ipse etiam a pluribus attestantibus male opinionis homo erat; et putabatur fur. Fuerat enim alias in Wigornia et apud hospitale sancti Iohannis baptiste hospitatus ita affluenter expendit, sicut moris est huiusmodi hominum; ut omnes mirarentur. Hic igitur cum egrederetur ecclesiam et cimiterium; uenerunt bedelli et manibus iniectis in eum; sciscitati sunt quisnam esset. Ille autem stupefactus nec habens quid responderet, collare tunice sue dirupit; et exempto gladiolo quem prope carnem suam gestabat, defendere se uoluit. Illi autem preualentes et hoc signo eum furem credentes; uinculauerunt eum. Nocte sequenti dum mulier quedam ad tumbam sancti Wlstani pernoctaret, et circa horam matutinam sompnolenta sederet; apparuit ei pene uigilanti sanctus Wlstanus alba indutus, et cignea canitie reuerendus; precipiens innotesceret primo monacho quem obuium haberet, ut ipse ex parte sancti Wlstani diceret conuentui; ut manibus ad celum extensis deum deprecarentur pro liberatione uinculati, qui eum cereo honorauerat. Quod cum secundum preceptum sancti Wlstani completum fuisset, predictus captiuus absolute dimissus est; uilla tamen abiurata in nomine domini.

De quodam sene et quodam iuvene qui meritis sancti curati sunt.

19. Cuidam seni de Londoniis qui duobus baculis subnixus [London.] aduenerat Wigorniam; apparuit sanctus Wlstanus baculum eius [fo. 88.] dextrum petens, et meliorem pro eo promittens; precepit etiam ut ad tumbam suam iret, et monachos ex parte sua salutaret; et ut karitatiui essent moneret, se sufficienter necessaria ministraturum; gaudium etiam magnum ecclesie uenturum promisit. Precepit ergo ut circa infirmos et pauperes solliciti essent, de quibus ipse magis quam de diuitibus curam habebat. Quod dum senex fecisset; post triduum a debilitate pedum et caligine oculorum liberatus, incolumis remeauit ad propria. Quidam etiam iuuenis a tribus annis obsessus a demonio; ita ut demonem intra se loquentem pluries audiret, ad tumulum sancti curatus est; ita ut ipsum quasi inter carnem et cutem exire sentiret. Infirmitas testatur, se postquam exierat demonem uidere; et fugientem tumulum sancti digito demonstrare.

De tribus mulieribus a diuersis infirmitatibus per sanctum Wlstanum mirabiliter curatis.

20. Mulier quedam de Newentona que a vii annis totum corpus sub zona perdiderat, sanitatem plenam receperat. Set antequam illud alicui manifestasset; recessit. Cumque domum redisset, statim in egritudinem pristinam recidit. Consultum est igitur ei ut Wigorniam rediret, et a sancto Wlstano ueniam postularet de eo quod miraculum celauerat; et sanitatem iterum ab eo impetraret. Quod et factum est. Et ita de sanitate eius bis recepta; miraculum duplicatum est. Aliam mulierem de Cluna multis diebus ficus exheserat; et iam fere consumpserat. Que cum tribus noctibus coram tumultu sancti Wlstani peruigil moraretur; nauseam passa, ut nature satisfaceret; ecclesiam egressa est. Statimque uermem unum cum capite rubeo et rostro acuto, pedibusque multis longitudine trium fere unciarum euomuit. Ab illo ergo die et uultui color accessit; et dolor omnis abscessit. Quedam etiam mulier cum circa tumbam sancti Wlstani pernoctaret, apparuit ei sanctus Wlstanus; precipiens ut uocatis monachis episcopo mandaret, ut cotidie infirmos suos uisitaret et benediceret; comminatus est etiam quod nisi faceret; cito moreretur. Intersigna etiam mandauit, quod quando concessus fuit ei episcopatus, | genibus flexis deo et eius genitrici promisit in corde suo quod sanctam ecclesiam defenderet, omnesque consuetudines prauas ab episcopatu suo eliminaret; et bonas induceret. Quod cum episcopo fuisset narratum, et ipse intersignis credens; surrexit, infirmos uisitauit; et iuxta preceptum sancti Wlstani benedixit.

Cf. Bk. I, c.
29.

| fo. 88b

De quodam puero mortuo resuscitato.

[Hanbury,
co. Worc.]

21. Quedam mulier de Hambyria manerio episcopi Wigornie, cum propter gerenda sua in die Ascensionis domini summo mane surrexisset, infantulum suum lactauit ut eo lactato liberius negotiis suis intenderet. Cumque eum in gremio teneret; cepit puer pallescere, fauces collidere; et toto corpore frigescere. Accersiu it mater ancillam suam, nolens infantem in manibus suis mori. Ancilla ergo puerum in area extendit, matre interim gemebunda; uicinos conuocante. Stabant uicini dolentes et flentes, et omnia signa mortui in puero considerantes. Nam et halitus ab ore; calor a corpore; ab oculis uisus; a membris motus aufugerat. Sic iacebat puer a summo mane; usque altam primam. Dixitque quidam de astantibus mulieruli¹ contristanti. Heri allata fuit

¹ Sic MS.

ampulla plena de aqua sancti Wlstani. Si quid de aqua illa remansit consulo ut afferatur; et in os pueri infundatur. Exceperunt parentes pueri uerbum illud cum gaudio, statimque in deuotionem sancti Wlstani accensi; puerum in honore sancti candela mensi sunt. Missum est interim propter aquam. Qua allata; aperuerunt fauces pueri firmiter coherentes, infusaque ea in os eius statim membra mouit; et post paululum plene sanitati restitutus est. Venerunt postea die Pentecostes Wigorniam parentes cum puero, gratias acturi deo, et sancto suo Wlstano. Affuitque archidiaconus Gloucestrie diligenti scrutinio curatos examinans. Nolensque simplici eorum uerbo fidem adhibere, fecit patrem et matrem et ancillam coram omni populo super maius altare superpositis sanctorum reliquiis iurare; rem se sic habere sicut narrauimus.

De bursa abscisa peregrino sancti Wlstani miraculose restituta.

22. Cum audita magnificentia sanctitatis et glorie | quam dominus | fo. 89.
in beato Wlstano multiplici uirtutum iubare sequentibus signis ostendit, circumiacentes provincie ad confessionis locum uisitandum pro infinitorum multimodis egrotantium remediis collatis certanti deuotione concurrerent; et multis uariisque languoribus detenti optate redderentur sanitati, uir quidam cum uxore pia ductus deuotione ad tumbam beati uiri uenit peregrinus; in conflua turba populi non modica. Inter quos sicut legitur in Iob, quod cum quadam die filii dei assisterent coram domino affuit inter eos Job i. 6.
etiam Sathan; ingressit se prope tumbam filius quidam Belial fur presumptuosus; sathelles sacrilegus, et minister Sathane; de illo quidem genere predonum quos burscidas id est bursarum cesores nominant, propria uxore comite eiusdem artis malefica plenius edocta machinatione, cui uersutus ille locum cominus assignauit, ut si nacta oportunitate clandestinum aliquod furti emolumentum consequeretur; admissa ab ea pecunia ad consuetam furti expeditus uacaret facultatem. Cum autem uir de quo exiuit sermo uacaret orationi in spiritu contrito et humili, apud illum agens de cuius liberalitatis munificentia multorum indigentia inuenit solatium; est enim adiutor in oportunitatibus in tribulatione, cesor bursam illius abscidit cum xl solidis; probate monete publice. O presumptio et insolentia detestanda, que relegata reuerentia dei et tam famosi confessoris Christi omni nationi; tam temerario ausu pecuniam sui abstulit peregrini. Medio quidem tempore de inscrutabili dei prouidentia processit, ut uxor furis seorsum

|fo. 89b.

secederet ; et coniux peregrini ubi steterant pedes eius se collocaret. Pecunia uero ut diximus furtiue sublata, fur meritis gloriosi confessoris Christi Wlstani percussus aurisia ; memoratam bursam cum pecunia coniugi peregrini tradidit, credens eam proprie uxori ut inter eos conuenerat comisisse. Cum autem peregrinus completis orationum et oblationum uotiuus obsequiis quod acciderat, comperisset ; exclamauit dicens. O sancte Wlstane ecce pecunia peregrini uestri ; furtim sublata est. Cuius audito clamore et planctu ; accessit ad eum | uxor sua dicens. Ecce domine bursa cum pecunia quam uir quidam mihi ignotus commisit. Quo uiso ; gauisus gaudio magno ualde, super tam celebri miraculo pecunie restitute ; ad tumbam sancti Wlstani corde prostratus glorificauit dominum et sanctum suum, qui peregrinos suos predone tuetur ab omni. Et sic inprouidus accepit quod se nunquam recuperare credidit. O gratum peregrinationis uotium obsequium, in quo re uera est bene placitum deo et sancto suo ; quod tam matura recompensatione in pecunie restitutione donatum est ; ad gloriam et laudem nominis domini nostri Iesu Christi qui uiuat et regnat in secula seculorum amen.

THE TRANSLATION OF ST WULFSTAN

From MS. Dunelm. B.iv, 39b.

Prologus in translatione sancti Wlstani.

Sepe et multum desiderauī gloriosi confessoris Christi et episcopi Wlstani translationem litterarum longa manu future porrigere posteritati ; ut cognoscat generatio uentura quam gloriose glorificauerit deus seculum nostrum in illuminatione uultus sui. Set ree conscientie aliquandiu passus sum contradictionem, ne labiis incircumcisis et manibus pollutis tam incomparabilem describere presumerem Christi confessorem. Instar uero est sacrilegii, rem

sacram irreuerenter tangere; et indigne tractare. Illud etiam plurimum me reuocauit a proposito quod cum sim tardus ingenio et rudis in eloquio; emulorum in me dentes acueri uiderer, si rem tam arduam; tam abiectus aggredere. Quantumque me impulit ut scriberem desiderii et deuotionis stimulus tantum me longius a proposito repulit timoris et indignitatis malleus. Set sic fluctuanti superuenit prelati precipientis auctoritas coactiua, et de sancti meritis non fallens fiducia; ut magistri iussione detractorum dens retundatur, et per sancti merita ad ueniam ueniatur. Ut autem sancte translationis tela ordinatius texatur, ab ipso sancti confessoris transitu ordiatur.

Incipit translatio sancti Wlstani.

Appositus igitur ad patres suos beatus Wlstanus, pro breuibz eterna et pro terrenis commutans celestia; proli sue posthume bona sua non inuidit, set eorum participium illi sine inuidia comitauit; in quantum huius uite uiatori, de hiis gustare licuit. Statim uero quasi de sepulchro eius uirtus exuberauit sanatiua, et uniuersi generis languidos | indifferenter amplectens, defuncti famam in orbe | *fo. 90.* declamauit uniuersum. Ut sic omnibus crebrescentibus miraculis innotesceret; quoniam placita erat deo anima illius, et quod sicut animam eius in celo gloria; ita et honore corpus eius coronabat in terra, ut de eo per psalmistam merito proclamet ecclesia; gloria et honore coronasti eum domine. Hoc per temporum interualla multociens diuina replicauit misericordia; usque ad hec nouissima nostri temporis tempora. *Ps. viii. 5.*

Item unde supra.

Presidente autem cathedre Wigorniensis uenerabili episcopo Iohanne de Constantiis, uiro secundum opinionem uulgi magne religionis; quippe qui cilicio et ferreis circulis carnem suam domuit castigatione crudeli, aliquos in uisione sanctus sollicitauit Wlstanus; ut episcopo suggererent, quatinus corpus suum in feretrum transferre non omitteret; si uite sue consultum esse cuperet. Hoc non uni uel duobus, nec semel tantum uel secundo; set pluribus pluries euenit in sompno. At episcopus non tam deuotione in sanctum quam uite diuturnioris desiderio ductus in se ipsum; accito Thoma abbate Gloucestrensi¹ solo, uiro quidem bene religioso; de

¹ Thomas Carbonel, prior of St. Guthlac's, Hereford, succeeded Hamelin as abbot of Gloucester in 1179. The correct date of his death seems to be 1212 (*Monasticon*, I, p. 533).

nocte aggreditur rem tam arduam, que omnem lucis et sollempnitatis desiderabat claritatem; et precipue sancte Romane ecclesie auctoritatem.

Item de eodem unde supra.

St. John xii.
3.

[fo. 90b

St. Luke xxi.
18.

Circumstante igitur conuentu, et exclusis secularibus uniuersis; aperitur tumulus, in quo tanti pontificis tam preciosus continebatur thesaurus. Et ecce ad aperturam sepulchri; tota repletur ecclesia dulcedine odoris suauissimi, sicut de peccatrice legitur; quod fracto alabastro repleta est domus ex odore unguenti. Apponunt manus dictus abbas et Symon Wigorniensis precentor, postmodum eiusdem ecclesie prior; ut corpus quod credebant incineratum in locum transferrent, quod eis casus optulit ad manum; non cura diligens ut deceret reddidit preparatum. Set uidentes opera domini et mirabilia eius in profundo; obstupuerunt. Caro uero beata que centum et amplius annos egerat in sepulchro, sic adhuc humiditate natiua felici federe neruos confouebat et ossa sibi colligabant, quod non nisi cum magna ui et uiolentia separari se paterentur ab inuicem. Venerando quoque capiti ita firmiter adheserunt capilli, ut nec alicui uim facienti cederent; set carpentis digitos omnino deluderent, ut de eo specialiter dici potuisset; quod capillus de capite uestro non peribit. Eratque perspicuum uidere, quomodo cesaries prolixior coronam quasi nuper rasam circumstaret, et ornatu circulari circumquaue capud ambiret; preterquam in fronte ubi caluitium quasi dupplicem fenestram aperuerat, stantibus in medio capillis; modicis et raris.

De indumentis integris inuentis.

Sed et casula que corpus sacrum et omnia sancti sacerdotis congregabat ornamenta, sic integra preterquam post scapulas apparuit et incorrupta; ut altaris usui usque hodie congrua inueniatur et honesta. Mitra tantum preter aurifrigium et felix illud dum superfuit sudarium omnino demolita apparuerunt, ut non iam cum aliis lintheaminibus posita; set quasi separatim in unum locum hoc est in primam materiam essent inuoluta. Et erat hoc pulchre quidem et si non miraculose factum, ut sudarium de medio sublatum quasi scissum uelum a summo usque deorsum; aditum preberet ad sancta sanctorum. Exuto igitur sanctis uestibus sacro pontifice; in imo scrinio reponuntur uestimenta, in alio; caro et ossa. Sic negotio perambulante in tenebris; et super maius altare collocatis sanctis reliquiis; octaua idus Septembris recessum est

[Sept. 6,
1198.]

De quadam uisione super premissis.

Intererat hiis agendis clericus quidam bone indolis; admissus secreto ab ecclesie custodibus non quia notus est pontifici, set quia familiaris conuentui. Qui cum non auderet in propatulo, omnia curiosus spectabat; a longe stans et in latibulo. Huic eadem nocte post hec acta quiescenti in stratu suo; apparuit gloriosus archipresul Oswaldus, qui a centum annis retro sanctum Wlstanum precesserat in regimine sancte Wigorniensis ecclesie. Qui cum quadam uultu-ositate illum intuens, et increpatoria uoce conueniens; ait. Quid est quod fecistis? Dominum meum de nocte leuastis? Si illum de die et teste luce transtulissetis; aquam | et oleum inuenissetis. [fo 9r.
Aquam ut uidebatur hiis qui gratiam habent interpretationis, intelligens in sancti spiritus operatione; et oleum in languidorum curatione. Recedentem autem episcopum presumptionis ultor [Sept 28, 1198] et irreuerentie morbus aggreditur; qui enim infra xv dies; ultimum exsufflare coegit spiritum.

Item de miraculis unde supra.

Cui inmediate successit uenerabilis Maugerius; deo pariter et hominibus merito commendabilis. Quem de numero tot intercurrentium episcoporum; solum sibi sanctus in suum segregauit ministerium Wlstanus, ut eius sollicitudine et opera in cathalogo conscriberetur sanctorum. Primo igitur consecrationis eius anno in uigilia depositionis eiusdem sancti confessoris Wlstani cum conuentus eius annuis indulgeret exequiis, accessit quedam mulier in sompnis admonita ad tumultum gloriosi pontificis ab annis multis incuruata, cui etiam paralýsis totius corporis medietatem dissoluerat; et ad omne opus impotem reddiderat, quam toti ciuitati Wigornie sua tanta et tam diuturna infirmitas notissimam fecerat. Deum ergo deprecata est oratione deuota, ut per sancti Wlstani merita; sospitatem recuperaret, infirmitate depulsa. Quid ad hec faceret pater misericordiarum et deus totius consolationis qui consolatur desolatos in omni tribulatione, qui adiutor promptus est omnibus inuocantibus eum in ueritate? Numquid per tanti confessoris merita adiuratus obliuisceretur misereri deus, cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere? Immo gratis et indilate occurrit deprecanti, languorem depulit manu medicinali; et pristina eam restituit sanitati. Succedunt deinde miraculis miracula de die in diem felici auspicio, continuata; deo operante, et sanctum suum confirmante; sequentibus signis. Quibus tractandis ad [June, 1200.]
[Jan. 18, 1201]

presens supersedeo ; dum propositum sequens ad eius translationem stilum uerto.

Qualiter sanctus Wlstanus canonizatus fuit.

[fo. 91b.

[April 21,
1203.]

[July, 1212.]
[Pontigny.]

Uenerabilis igitur Maugerius episcopus hoc miraculorum tonitruo permotus, et in sancti deuotionem accensus ; cum capitulo suo de eius tractat canonizatione, firmam spem concipiens de negotii consummati | one. Videbatur igitur ei, hiis quorum innitebatur consilio ; bonum esse sancti corpus in tumultum reponere, quod inde fuerat amotum temeraria presumptione ; ut consulto domino papa consultius et sollempnius illud postmodum posset in feretrum transferre. Missum est Romam, et inquisitione delegata domino Cantuariensi et domino Helyensi et de sancto Ædmondo et de Woburna abbatibus ; cum Wigorniam accessissent ad examinationem huius negotii oppressi a gloria multitudinis curatorum et eorum testium ; reuersi sunt pastores glorificantes et laudantes deum in omnibus que audierat¹ et uiderant, sicut dictum est ad illos. Relatione igitur facta, et instructione negotii plenaria memoratus presul Malgerius Romam proficiscitur etati non parcens, nec laborem ponderans ; itineris pericula circumscribens pariter et expensas. Romam ueniens cum magno honore suscipitur ; et xi kalendas Maii canonizatione impetrata, et cum debita sollempnitate celebrata ; Angliam prospere reuertitur. Et adhuc sicut prius super infirmos manus domini extenta, omnes indifferenter sanans egrotos ; nisi quos inpenitentia a gratia dei fecerat alienos. Turbato postmodum regno, et uenerabili Malgerio in exilium acto ; apud Pontiniacum debitum mortis exsoluit tributum, animam celis ingerens ; sancta uiolentia uirtutum. Succedit autem ei dompnus Walterus regis et regni cancellarius. Set transfertur noua plantatio in iuuentute sua in ortum Eboracensis ecclesie, ibi principatum optinens super cedros proceritatis immense.²

Qualiter in feretrum translatus est.

Subrogatur eidem in cathedram Wigornie Siluester prior³ et monachus eiusdem ecclesie uir quidem magnanimus ; et ad fortia mittere manum ausus. Hic labores multorum compleuit unus, promissiones in quibus predecessores sui dies suos consumpserant,

¹ Sic MS.

² Walter de Gray, consecrated to Worcester, Oct., 1214 ; translated to York, 1216. He was chancellor from 1205 to 1212.

³ Silvester of Evesham, bishop of Worcester, 1216-18.

in operis exhibitione magnanimiter consummans. Anno enim pontificatus sui secundo conuocatis episcopis et abbatibus et aliis ecclesie prelati comitibus etiam et baronibus et aliis regni magnatibus, vii^a idus Iunii ecclesiam suam cathedralem consecrauit. Eadem etiam die sanctum Christi confessorem Wlstanum de tumultu transtulit in feretrum, et quasi de puluere suscitans egenum; cum principibus populi sui collocauit gloriosum. [June 7, 1218.]

De quodam paralitico curato.

[fo. 92.]

Quid ¹ referam de magistro Reginaldo quem morbus superueniens ad medelam querendam coegit, et mox habitam fastidiuit; doluit quod haberet, quod desiderauit cum non haberet. Hic effuso studio Parisius legens magni habitus est; maioris habendus nisi infirmitas effectum prepedisset. Ad natale solum in Angliam se contulit. Ueniensque Wigorniam ante corpus sancti Wlstani clam decubuit et obdormiuit. Mane facto recepto membrorum officio quod perdidit, sine baculo et alicuius adminiculo equum ascendit; apud Sapiam unde oriundus erat mansionem fecit incolumis. In cuius aduentu uicinia tota assurgit in gaudium, et quos necessitudo sanguinis obligauerat; aplaudunt lacrimis, si tamen lacrimae plausum non abhorrent. Refert causam aduentus, et sanitatis gratiam quam acceperat. Vadens itaque et rediens inter cognatos et notos aspirante ei fauore terrene prosperitatis suspendit animum dolore, ducens multo melius tranquillis studiis ut prius operam applicare; possetque sibi ceterisque profuisse legendo, et cum nunc desiit posse; quia nec ubi nec adsunt quibus. Malletque egrotatius hiis insuescere; quam incolumis uento ferri et terrenis agglutinari, ubi quo gaudeas breue est; quod cupias penale, quod habeas non mansurum. Ratio tamen disciplinati animi sic in optione anceps duxit multo melius dissolui et esse cum Christo. Bonumque unum oculum habentem ingredi in uitam; quam duos in ignem mitti. Orauit et exauditus est in neutro; lecto decubuit, nec sanus; nec eger, set rediuius languor accrescens in dies; affixit uirum, decoxit igne; quasi aurum purgatum ut residuum uite perficeretur in infirmitate. Sicque anelans in mortem; respectu dei desuper migravit ad uitam sine fine. O diuitem uenam desiderii in tanto uiro, qui non solum pulsanti iudici gaudens aperuit; set ut | pulsaret preuenit instantia | fo. 92b. precum inaudita.

[Paris.]

[Sapey, co. Worc.]

¹The original hand resumes.

De muliere contracta.

Nec pretereundum duco miraculum cuius adhuc uestigium in promptu uidere est. Erat Wigornie mulier quedam cuius crura cum musculis tibiærum sic coheserant in poplite in carne una, quod contractis genibus et partibus illis quasi emortuis; uehiculo manuali raptabatur per urbem mendicans. Hec pre foribus ecclesie excubans cum arceretur ab ingressu eo quod clamosa erat et ianitoribus inportuna, in porticu quieuit; fiduciam habens in domino et in sancto suo. Ubi cum superdormiret dolori quasi iniuriöse exclusa; affuit uirtus diuina illapsa celitus, commutans gaudio dolorem misere; sanitate languorem, transeuntes qui confluxerant in condensis; replens stupore et extasi. Nam expergefacta a sompno; inuenit genua soluta, carnem a carne separatam; totumque corpus in formam debitam porrectum. Et cum tam uiolenta separatio sensu humano non fieret absque dolore; nec quicquam nec quando hoc ei accidisset; dormiens sensit. Ulcus autem hians uel inde profliuus sanguis in argumentum erat intuentibus, quod nutu diuino prohibita erat ab ingressu ecclesie; ne locus sanctus unda sanguinis pollueretur. Erecta tandem perrexit ad altare et chorus cum ea in hymnis et canticis laudare nomen domini.

De infirmis a uariis infirmitatibus curatis.

Uenerat Wigorniam mulier quedam cum duobus paruulis quorum ductu hostiatim per urbem famelicis faucibus petebat cotidianum panem. Erat enim orbata lumine utero sic tumente in ydropisim, quod tactu timpanites, colore timpanum, id est corium extentum uidebatur. Filiorum maior natu digitis concretis et in pugnum clausis; formam manus a natiuitate non habuerat. Alter contracto cubito brachium numquam porrexerat. Cum talibus mater talis ante tumbam reuerendi patris soporata quieuit. Nec | mora utero defecato uisusque recepto; astantibus multis qui eam prius nouerant; surrexit sanissima, filiorum; ille pugnum extendit in palmam. Alter; cubito relaxato recepit brachium in usum proprium.

De puero a uariis infirmitatibus curato.

Pater quidam apud Malmesburiam amiserat mentem, in usu minime compos sui, visum quoque incessum motumque membrorum. Ferebaturque a patre quasi cadauer mortuum. Disponens tandem puerum dñcere ad beatum Wlstanum strauit equum, et posito inuolucro laneo in sella ad telam sic aptatam ligauit puerum ne capud collideretur ad humeros; quoniam residentiam a collo non

| fo. 93.

[Malmesbury.]

habebat. Arripiens itaque iter apud Gloucestriam, pernoctauit. Cumque solueret puerum et in ulnis assumptum deponeret; orauit cum lacrimis dicens. Sancte Wlstande, miserere. Releua dolorem quo torqueor. Porrige manum gratie filio meo; ut magnificetur deus in dono suo, et in opere tuo appareat gloriosus. Cumque auerteret se a puero ut hospicium egrederetur; clamauit puer. Pater quo uadis, an te uia ducit in urbem? ad hanc uocem pater stupefactus exclamans pre gaudio fleuit, quod puerum suum recepisset sanum et incolumem. Eratque concursus quasi ad spectaculum uirorum ac mulierum laudantium deum, quod mirabilia fecerat in oculis eorum. Adduxit ergo puerum Wigorniam, deuoto sermone uerbum referens quod acciderat; stetitque uerbum eo firmitus, quod fama preuolante hoc ipsum iam innotuerat uniuersis.

De muliere a uariis infirmitatibus curata.

In eadem etiam urbe mulier quedam oscitando conamine tanto os dilatauerat, quod mandibula loco auulsa; horrendo rictu os ad aurem protendit, et lingua absorta a gutture omnino non apparuit. Que cum pudibunda tantam deformitatem aliquandiu occultasset, non latuit tamen; sed a uicinis ducta ad tumbam sancti; desiderio inuenit remedium, mandibula; locum suum, os; statum, lingua; loquere recepit officium, mira alacritate omnium qui confluxerant. [fo. 93b.]

De muliere ceca curata.

Uenerat Wigorniam mulier quedam de ulterioribus Wallie finibus oriunda, unica sibi ducatum prebente filia. Hec inuoluntario lacrimarum profluuiio obclusis palpebris et extincto uisibili spiritu; decem annis perseuerabat non uidens. Glorioso tandem gloriosi Christi confessoris Wlstani audito nomine quod iam et in insulis que procul erant celeberrimum; in ipsius deuotione plurimum animata ad medelam Wigorniam uenit. Cumque aliquanto a tumba remotius sederet; et sompno pressa muro se inclinaret, uidebatur ei uidere quandam accensam candelam in manus eius dari. Cuius cum lucis magnitudine delectaretur; subito de manibus eius ablata est. Excanduit illa ad iniuriam, uoce conqueritur aperta; luminare sibi paulo ante datum, tam iniuriose incontinenti sublatum. Cumque circumsedentes increparent eam ut taceret; subito quasi aliquo inpellente et ad manum eam trahente a loco in quo iacebat auulsa est; et usque ad tumbam proiecta, ipsa penitus ignorante quis ad quid et quo eam impelleret. Set ueteres tenebras exuta, et

noue lucis claritate oculis infusa ; effectu didicit, quod is eam traxerit ; ad quem nemo uenit nisi tractus. Sicque accepto oculorum lumine in sancto suo Wlstanō concrepantibus signis collaudabat.

De muliere a natiuitate surda et muta.

[Weobley,
co. Here-
ford.]

[fo. 94.

Puella quedam erat de Wibbeleia in diocesi Herefordie larem fouens. Que cum iuxta nomen magnorum et ipsa magna natalibus ; patre tamen muto muta progenita, fratrem quoque et materteram perpetui silentii habebat consortes. Accessit et hoc ad miserie sue cumulum et augmentum doloris, quod aurium priuata | officio ; surditatis perpetuitate dampnabatur. Et hec omnia ; a natiuitate sibi coaluerant. Surda igitur et muta, lingue etiam penitus instrumento destituta ; Wigorniam uenit, ad tumultum accessit ; Wlstanum deprecatura non oris clamosa uoce ; set supplici cordis deuotione. Nec mora corruens mente excessit, plurimumque in orbem contorta ; clamore horrifico repleuit ecclesiam. Affuerunt nocte illa uiri quatuor de uilla unde et ipsa mulier erat ; sancto Wlstanō celebrantes excubias. Accurrunt ad clamorem, et post multam inspectionem mulierem agnouerunt ; stabantque stupefacti euentum rei prestolantes. Post aliquantulum interuallum clamare cepit sancte Wlstanē fere fui mortua. Admirantes quatuor uiri prenominati inquiunt, quomodo Alicia loqueris hoc erat nomen mulieris cum linguam numquam habueris ? At illa linguam proferens. En inquit deo gratias et sancto Wlstanō ; et linguam recepi et loquelam. Set et auditu aurium audiui uos depulsa surditate quam a natiuitate nullo tempore habueram. Repleti ergo stupore et extasi ; glorificauerunt deum qui in sanctis suis semper est et ubique mirabilis.

APPENDIX

LIST OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO WULFSTAN

1. Writ of Edward the Confessor announcing the appointment of Wulfstan to the see of Worcester, 1062. Original charter in the British Museum (Add. Ch. 19802). For facsimile, see Brit. Mus. Facs. (1878), Part IV, no. 41.
2. Writ of Edward the Confessor addressed to bishop Wulfstan, earl Ælfgar, Richard (Scrob) "my house-carl" and all the thegns of Worcestershire, notifying that he has confirmed to Ælfstan the monk his privileges (i.e. those pertaining to the office of prior). c. 1062.
Cal. Chart. Rolls, III, p. 207 (Inspeximus of 1313). Printed (with translation and notes by Professor Skeat) by the Worc. Hist. Soc.—*Original Charters in Worc. Cathedral*, Ed. Bloom, p. 169.
3. Writ of Edward the Confessor addressed to Earl Ælfgar, Richard (Scrob), and the men of Worcestershire, notifying that he has granted to bishop Wulfstan freedom from toll. 1062-1066. Printed (in Old English) by Thomas—*Survey*, p. 76 from the lost *Liber Albus*.
4. Solemn diploma of William I, granting to bishop Wulfstan and his familia 2 hides of land at Cookley in Wolverley, co. Worc., 1066-1087.
Copies:—Register I, fo. 4b (unprinted); *Hemming's Chartulary* (Ed. Hearne, p. 413). Calendared by Davis—*Regesta* no. 10.
The document in *Hemming's Chartulary* (dated 1067) is a summary of the charter to which are added a list of witnesses, and boundaries in Old English. The *Register* gives the charter at length (with the date 1066) but the list of witnesses differs from that in Hemming and the boundaries are given in Latin.
5. Confirmation by William I to Ælfstan the dean and the monks of Worcester of all lands and dignities pertaining to the priory. 1066-1087.
Copies:—Register I, fo. 2b; Hale: *Regestrum Prioratus*, p. 25b; Hearne: *Hemming* (Appendix), p. 522 from the summary of Register I made by Patrick Young. Calendared by Davis—*Regesta* no. 752.
6. Letter of the Cardinals John and Peter summoning Wulfstan and the abbots of his diocese to the Council at Winchester, 1070.
Epistola cardinalium urbis Romae ad Wlstanum episcopum.
I. et P. presbiteri cardinales Sancti Petri, Wlstano de Wihraceastre episcopo salutem.
Licet R. ecclesia circa correctionem omnium Christianorum inuigilare debeat, specialius tamen eam conuersationis uestre mores conuenit

inquirere, et Christianam religionem qua uos primitus instruxit diligentia sue uisitacionis reparare. Huius itaque sollicitudinis debito, nos qualescumque beati Petri apostoli ministros et uice atque auctoritate domini uestri pape Alexandri fultos ad partes uestras direximus ut concilium uobiscum celebraturi que in uinea domini Sabaoth male pululant reseceamus, et animarum et corporum utilitati profutura plantemus. Uestram igitur fraternitatem in partem tante sollicitudinis, apostolica auctoritate inuitamus, ut tertia die post proximum pascha remota omni occasione ad Wincestam conueniatis, et omnes abbates diocesis uestre ostensis his litteris nostris uobiscum uenire commoneatis.

From MS. Hutton 113, fo. 2, in the Bodleian Library. Printed—Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, p. 323. Wake: *State of the Church* (1703), p. 161.

In the same or a roughly contemporary hand are written on the same fly-leaf the following prayers:—

Oremus omnes, deum patrem omnipotentem, ut sanctam ecclesiam suam pacifice gubernet et proteget, subiciens ei principatus et potestates detque nobis quietam et tranquillam uitam, et adiuuet ut stabili fide in confessione sui nominis perseuerare mereamur, per Christum.

Quesumus omnipotens deus, ut famulus tuus rex noster ille qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, uirtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus, et uitiorum monstra deuitare, et hostes superare, et ad te qui uia ueritas et uita es gratus ualeat peruenire, per

7. Wulfstan's Profession to Archbishop Lanfranc.

Professio Wlstan Wigornensis.

Obedientia que exhibetur prelati, exhiberi deo sacris informamur eloquiis. Ipse enim dicit, qui uos audit; me audit. Hinc consuetudo sacre religionis obtinuit, ut si antistitem sacrari contingat; metropolim reuerenter accedat, metropolitano de obedientia spondeat, scriptamque ei suisque successoribus de ipsa obedientia professionem relinquat. Uerum quo tempore ego Wulfstanus ad Wigornensem Uiciorum urbem sum ordinatus episcopus; sanctam Dorobernensem ecclesiam cui omnes antecessores meos constat fuisse subiectos, Stigandus iam pridem inuaserat, metropolitani eiusdem sedis ui et dolo expulerat, usumque palii quod ei abstulit contempta sedis apostolice auctoritate temerare presumpserat. Unde a Romanis pontificibus Leone, Uictore, Stephano, Nicholao, Alexandro uocatus, excommunicatus, damnatus est. Ipse tamen ut cepit, in sui cordis obstinatione permansit. Per idem tempus iussa eorum pontificum in Anglicam ferram delata sunt prohibitum ne quis ei episcopalem reuerentiam exhiberet, aut ad eum ordinandus accederet. Quo tempore Anglorum presules alii Romam nonnulli Franciam sacrandi petebant, quidam uero ad uicinos coepiscopos accedebant. Ego autem Aldredum Eboracensis ecclesie antistitem adii, professionem a me de canonica obedientia usque ad presentem diem facere distuli. Nunc igitur tibi eiusdem sancte Cantuariensis ecclesie Lanfrance metropolitane antistes de tuis tuorumque successorum obseruandis iussionibus professionem secundum canones porrigo, meque ita seruaturum sub diuini nominis obtestatione promitto.

From MS. Cott. Cleop. E i, fo. 26b.

8. Documents relating to the plea between Wulfstan and Walter abbot of

- Evesham concerning Bengeworth and Hampton. *Hemming's Chartulary* (ed. Hearne), pp. 75-83. For Mr. Round's discussion of these documents see V.C.H. *Worc.*, pp. 254-6, and the works cited there.
9. The charters of Wulfstan:—(i) Three charters of Wulfstan are known to us, but the original of one only has survived, namely the charter dated 1089 in which Wulfstan grants to the monks of the Cathedral Priory 15 hides of land at Alveston (co. War.). The original is preserved at Worcester Cathedral (on exhibition in the Chapter House). Attached is the one surviving seal (now in an imperfect state) of Wulfstan, showing the bishop seated. For a reproduction of the seal as it was in 1736 see Thomas' *Survey*, p. 88. Copies of this charter are preserved in *Hemming's Chartulary*, fo. 187 (ed. Hearne, p. 418); Register I, fo. 2b; Hale—Register of Worc. Priory (i.e. Rental of 1240), p. 84a. A copy of William II's confirmation (1095-6) of Wulfstan's grant is preserved in Register I, fo. 3; calendared, (inadequately) by Davis—*Regesta* no. 388 from copies in the Charter Rolls, etc. (ii) Copies of Wulfstan's charter dated 1089, recording the grant of the mill at Tappenhall in Northwick (co. Worc.) together with the miller and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate of land to prior Thomas and the monks of the Cathedral Priory, are preserved in *Hemming's Chartulary* fo. 189b (ed. Hearne, p. 424) and Register I, fo. 3. The order of the witnesses is different in the Register and the excommunication in Latin preserved in Hemming is there omitted. Wulfstan's style, "seruus seruorum dei," is interesting since it is that employed by popes from the end of the sixth century and had become the normal papal style from the end of the ninth century. (iii) In *Hemming's Chartulary* (fo. 188, ed. Hearne, p. 421) is preserved a copy of Wulfstan's charter dated 1093, granting to the use of the monks of Worcester the church of Westbury-on-Trym (co. Gloc.) together with the lands pertaining to it.
 10. Record of Wulfstan's synod of 1092. Copy in Register I, fo. 7b. Printed: Hearne—*Hemming's Chartulary* (Appendix), p. 527, from Patrick Young's summary of Register I. Wharton—*Anglia Sacra* I, p. 542, from the original once among the muniments of Worcester Cathedral but now lost.
 11. Association of Wulfstan and the abbots of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, and Gloucester and the dean (i.e. prior) of Worcester. Printed with translation by Thorpe (*Diplomatarium*, p. 615) from the copy in Old English preserved in MS. C.C.C. Cant. C. xi, p. 55. Thomas—*Survey of Worcester Cathedral*, Appendix, p. 3.
 12. Confraternity between the bishop, prior and monks of Worcester and the abbot and monks of Ramsey. Register I, fo. 41. Printed by Thomas—*Survey*, Appendix, p. 3 from the Register.

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